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**JAMES K. MOFFITT**











THE DIARY  
OF  
JOHN EVELYN  
(1647 TO 1676)







*John Evelyn*  
*By Robert Walker*

THE DIARY  
OF  
JOHN EVELYN

WITH AN INTRODUCTION AND NOTES

BY

AUSTIN DOBSON

HON. LL.D. EDIN.

IN THREE VOLUMES

VOL. II

ROBERT  
MACMILLAN AND CO., LIMITED  
NEW YORK: THE MACMILLAN COMPANY

1906

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THE  
DIARY OF JOHN EVELYN

1647 : 28th *January*. I changed my lodging in the Place de Monsieur de Metz, near the Abbey of St. Germain ; and thence, on the 12th February, to another in Rue Columbier, where I had a very fair apartment, which cost me four pistoles per month. The 18th, I frequented a course of chemistry, the famous Monsieur Lefevre<sup>1</sup> operating upon most of the nobler processes. March 8rd, Monsieur Mercure began to teach me on the lute, though to small perfection.

In May, I fell sick, and had very weak eyes ; for which I was four times let blood.

22nd *May*. My valet (Hebert) robbed me of clothes and plate, to the value of threescore pounds ; but, through the diligence of Sir Richard Browne,<sup>2</sup> his Majesty's Resident at the Court of France, and with whose lady and family I had contracted a great friendship (and particularly set my affections on a daughter<sup>3</sup>), I recovered most of them, obtaining of the Judge, with no small difficulty, that the process against the thief should not concern his life, being his first offence.

<sup>1</sup> [Nicasius or Nicolas Lefevre, d. 1669, afterwards Charles II.'s professor of chemistry, and apothecary to the Royal Household. He was an F.R.S. (see *post*, under 20th September, 1662).]

<sup>2</sup> [See *ante*, vol. i. p. 68.]

<sup>3</sup> [Mary Browne.]

*10th June.* We concluded about my marriage, in order to which I went to St. Germain, where his Majesty, then Prince of Wales, had his court, to desire of Dr. Earle,<sup>1</sup> then one of his chaplains (since Dean of Westminster, Clerk of the Closet, and Bishop of Salisbury), that he would accompany me to Paris, which he did; and, on Thursday, 27th June 1647, he married us in Sir Richard Browne's chapel, betwixt the hours of eleven and twelve, some few select friends being present. And this being Corpus Christi feast, was solemnly observed in this country; the streets were sumptuously hung with tapestry, and strewed with flowers.

*10th September.* Being called into England, to settle my affairs after an absence of four years, I took leave of the Prince and Queen, leaving my wife, yet very young,<sup>2</sup> under the care of an excellent lady and prudent mother.

*4th October.* I sealed and declared my will, and that morning went from Paris, taking my journey through Rouen, Dieppe, Villedieu, and St. Valery, where I stayed one day with Mr. Waller, with whom I had some affairs, and for which cause I took this circle to Calais, where I arrived on the 11th, and that night embarking in the packet-boat, was by one o'clock got safe to Dover; for which I heartily put up my thanks to God who had conducted me safe to my own

<sup>1</sup> John Earle, 1601-65, finished his education at Merton College, Oxford, where he took his degree of Doctor of Divinity. He was appointed sub-tutor to Prince Charles, son of Charles I., whom he afterwards attended when abroad, as chaplain. Returning to England at the Restoration, he was successively made Dean of Westminster, Clerk of the Closet, Bishop of Worcester, and Bishop of Salisbury. He was the author of a Latin translation of the *Eikon Basilike*, of *Microcosmography*, or a *Piece of the World discovered in Essays and Characters*, 1628, and of *An Elegy on Mr. Francis Beaumont*.

<sup>2</sup> [On her tombstone in Wotton Church she is stated to have been "in the seventy-fourth year of her age" in February, 1709.]

country, and been merciful to me through so many aberrations. Hence, taking post, I arrived at London the next day at evening, being the second of October, new style.

*5th October.* I came to Wotton, the place of my birth, to my brother, and on the 10th to Hampton Court,<sup>1</sup> where I had the honour to kiss his Majesty's hand, and give him an account of several things I had in charge, he being now in the power of those execrable villains who not long after murdered him. I lay at my cousin, Serjeant Hatton's, at Thames-Ditton,<sup>2</sup> whence, on the 18th, I went to London.

*14th.* To Sayes Court,<sup>3</sup> at Deptford, in Kent (since my house), where I found Mr. Pretymán,<sup>4</sup> my wife's uncle, who had charge of it and the

<sup>1</sup> [The King had been a prisoner at Hampton Court since 24th August, but his captivity was not strict. "Persons of all conditions repaired to his majesty of those who had served him, lords and ladies with whom he conferred without reservation; and the citizens flocked thither, as they had used to do at the end of a progress, when the king had been some months absent from London: but that which pleased his majesty most, was, that his children were permitted to come, in whom he took great delight" (Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion*, 1888, iv. 250). His children were at the Duke of Northumberland's, Syon House (see *post*, under 7th July, 1665).]

<sup>2</sup> [See *ante*, vol. i. p. 60.]

<sup>3</sup> [This is Evelyn's earliest reference to the habitation in which he subsequently lived for forty years. Its name came from the Say family, who had owned it in the twelfth century; but by the time of James I. it had reverted to the Crown, and was occupied by the Brownes, who came from Essex (see *post*, under 12th March, 1683). At the death of Sir Richard Browne in 1604, it had passed to his son Christopher, *d.* 1645, and thence to Christopher's only son, another Sir Richard Browne, Evelyn's father-in-law (see *ante*, vol. i. p. 68), at this time, October, 1647, English Resident at Paris. After King Charles's death, the manor and house were seized by the Commonwealth, and sold. (For the further history of Sayes Court, see *post*, under 9th March, 1652, and 22nd February, 1653.).]

<sup>4</sup> [William Pretymán was executor to Christopher Browne above mentioned. Mrs. Evelyn's mother was a daughter of Sir John Pretymán of Dryfield.]

estate about it, during my father-in-law's residence in France. On the 15th, I again occupied my own chambers in the Middle Temple.

*9th November.* My sister opened to me her marriage with Mr. Glanville.<sup>1</sup>

*1647-8: 14th January.* From London I went to Wotton, to see my young nephew; and thence to Baynards<sup>2</sup> [in Ewhurst], to visit my brother Richard.

*5th February.* Saw a tragi-comedy acted in the Cock-pit, after there had been none of these diversions for many years during the war.

*28th.* I went with my noble friend, Sir William Ducie<sup>3</sup> (afterwards Lord Downe), to Thistleworth, where we dined with Sir Clepesby Crew,<sup>4</sup> and afterwards to see the rare miniatures of Peter Oliver,<sup>5</sup> and rounds of plaster, and then the curious flowers of Mr. Barill's garden, who has some good metals and pictures. Sir Clepesby has fine Indian hangings, and a very good chimney-piece of water-colours, by Brueghel, which I bought for him.

*26th April.* There was a great uproar in London that the rebel army quartering at Whitehall would plunder the City, on which there was published a Proclamation for all to stand on their guard.

<sup>1</sup> [Jane Evelyn, who married William Glanville of Devon.]

<sup>2</sup> [Richard Evelyn's house (see *post*, under 5th May, 1657).]

<sup>3</sup> The son of Sir Robert Ducie, the wealthy Lord Mayor, created a baronet by Charles in 1629; his only return for about £80,000 which Charles I. had borrowed from him. Sir William was made one of the Knights of the Bath, and created Viscount Downe at the coronation of Charles II. Dying without issue, his estates descended to the only daughter of his younger brother, whose son was Lord Ducie in 1720, and from him descended the present Earl of Ducie.

<sup>4</sup> [Whose "Nuptiall Song" was written by Herrick.]

<sup>5</sup> [Peter Oliver, 1601-60, son of Isaac Oliver, and even more famous as a miniature painter. He also copied the great masters in little (see *post*, under 1st November, 1660, and 11th May, 1661).]



*4th May.* Came up the Essex petitioners for an agreement betwixt his Majesty and the rebels. The 16th, the Surrey men addressed the Parliament for the same; of which some of them were slain and murdered by Cromwell's guards, in the New Palace Yard. I now sold the impropriation of South Malling,<sup>1</sup> near Lewes, in Sussex, to Mr. Kemp and Alcock, for £8000.

*30th.* There was a rising now in Kent, my Lord of Norwich being at the head of them. Their first rendezvous was in Broome-field, next my house at Sayes Court, whence they went to Maidstone, and so to Colchester, where was that memorable siege.<sup>2</sup>

*27th June.* I purchased the manor of Hurcott, in Worcestershire, of my brother George, for £3300.

*1st July.* I sate for my picture, in which there is a Death's head, to Mr. Walker, that excellent painter.<sup>3</sup>

*10th.* News was brought me of my Lord Francis Villiers being slain by the rebels near Kingston.<sup>4</sup>

*16th August.* I went to Woodcote (in Epsom) to the wedding of my brother Richard, who

<sup>1</sup> [See *ante*, vol. i. p. 8.]

<sup>2</sup> [The Kentish men were defeated by Fairfax, 1st June. A party of them, under the Earl of Norwich (see *ante*, vol. i. p. 30), tried to enter London, but were foiled by Skippon. They then (12th June) occupied Colchester, which eventually surrendered to Fairfax, 27th August.]

<sup>3</sup> [Robert Walker, *d.* 1658?—"Cromwell's portrait painter." His portrait, by himself, is in the Public Dining-Room at Hampton Court. The likeness of Evelyn mentioned in the text is now in the picture-gallery at Wotton House. It was exhibited at South Kensington in 1866. Another portrait of Evelyn by Walker, formerly in the possession of Mr. Watson Taylor, is engraved by W. H. Worthington in vol. v. (1828) of Dallaway's edition of Walpole's *Anecdotes of Painting*, p. 171. See frontispiece to this volume, and *post*, under 6th August, 1650.]

<sup>4</sup> [Younger brother of the Duke of Buckingham, 1628-48. Clarendon speaks of his "rare beauty," (*Hist. Rebellion*, 1888, iv. 385).]

married the daughter and co-heir of Esquire Minn, lately deceased;<sup>1</sup> by which he had a great estate both in land and money on the death of a brother. The coach in which the bride and bridegroom were, was overturned in coming home; but no harm was done.

*28th August.* To London from Sayes Court, and saw the celebrated follies of Bartholomew Fair.

*16th September.* Came my lately married brother Richard and his wife, to visit me, when I showed them Greenwich, and her Majesty's Palace, now possessed by the rebels.

*28th.* I went to Albury, to visit the Countess of Arundel,<sup>2</sup> and returned to Wotton.

*31st October.* I went to see my manor of Preston Beckhelvyn, and the Cliffhouse.

*29th November.* Myself, with Mr. Thomas Offley,<sup>3</sup> and Lady Gerrard, christened my Niece Mary, eldest daughter of my brother George Evelyn, by my Lady Cotton, his second wife. I presented my Niece a piece of Plate which cost me £18, and caused this inscription to be set on it:

In memoriam facti:

Anno c<sup>lo</sup> Ix. xliix. Cal. Decem. viii. Virginum castiss: Xtianorum innocentiss: Nept: suavis: Mariæ, Johan: Evelynus Avunculus et Susceptor Vasculum hoc cum Epigraphe L. M. Q. D.

Ave-Maria Gratiâ sis plena; Dominus tecum.

*2nd December.* This day I sold my manor of Hurcott for £3400 to one Mr. Bridges.<sup>4</sup>

*18th.* The Parliament now sat up the whole

<sup>1</sup> [George Minn, or Mynne, of Woodcote. The bride's Christian name was Elizabeth.]

<sup>2</sup> [Probably the widow of Thomas, second Earl of Arundel (see *ante*, vol. i. p. 317).]

<sup>3</sup> [Thomas Offley, Groom-Porter. Lady Cotton was daughter of Sir Robert Offley, of Dalby, in Leicestershire.]

<sup>4</sup> [*Ante*, p. 5.]

night, and endeavoured to have concluded the Isle of Wight Treaty ; but were surprised by the rebel army ; the Members dispersed, and great confusion everywhere in expectation of what would be next.

17th December. I heard an Italian sermon, in Mercers' Chapel,<sup>1</sup> one Dr. Middleton, an acquaintance of mine, preaching.

18th. I got privately into the council of the rebel army, at Whitehall, where I heard horrid villainies.

This was a most exceeding wet year, neither frost nor snow all the winter for more than six days in all. Cattle died everywhere of a murrain.

1648-9: 1st January. I had a lodging and some books at my father-in-law's house, Sayes Court.<sup>2</sup>

2nd. I went to see my old friend and fellow-traveller, Mr. Henshaw,<sup>3</sup> who had two rare pieces of Steenwyck's perspective.

17th. To London. I heard the rebel, Peters, incite the rebel powers met in the Painted Chamber,<sup>4</sup> to destroy his Majesty ; and saw that arch-traitor, Bradshaw, who not long after condemned him.

19th. I returned home, passing an extraordinary danger of being drowned by our wherries falling foul in the night on another vessel then at anchor, shooting the bridge at three-quarters' ebb, for which His mercy God Almighty be praised.

21st. Was published my translation of *Liberty*

<sup>1</sup> [Burned in the fire of 1666.]

<sup>2</sup> [See *ante*, p. 3.]

<sup>3</sup> [See *ante*, vol. i. p. 135.]

<sup>4</sup> [The Painted Chamber, or St. Edward's Chamber, was in the old Palace of the Kings at Westminster. "Here were held . . . the private sittings of the High Court of Justice, for bringing Charles I. to a public trial in Westminster Hall ; here the death-warrant of the King was signed by Cromwell, Dick Ingoldsby, and the rest of the regicides ; and here the body of the unfortunate King rested till it was removed to Windsor" (Wheatley and Cunningham's *London*, 1891, iii. 4).]

and *Servitude*, for the preface of which I was severely threatened.<sup>1</sup>

22nd January. I went through a course of chemistry, at Sayes Court.<sup>2</sup> Now was the Thames frozen over, and horrid tempests of wind.

The villainy of the rebels proceeding now so far as to try, condemn, and murder our excellent King on the 30th of this month, struck me with such horror, that I kept the day of his martyrdom a fast, and would not be present at that execrable wickedness; receiving the sad account of it from my brother George, and Mr. Owen,<sup>3</sup> who came to visit me this afternoon, and recounted all the circumstances.

1st February. Now were Duke Hamilton, the Earl of Norwich, Lord Capel, etc., at their trial before the rebels' *New Court of Injustice*.<sup>4</sup>

15th. I went to see the collection of one Treaan, a rich merchant, who had some good pictures, especially a rare perspective of Steenwyck; from thence, to other virtuosos.

The painter, La Neve,<sup>5</sup> has an *Andromeda*, but I think it a copy after Vandyck from Titian, for the original is in France. Webb, at the Exchange, has some rare things in miniature, of Brueghel's,

<sup>1</sup> [*Of Liberty and Servitude*. Translated out of the French into the English Tongue: and dedicated to Geo. Evelyn, Esquire [Evelyn's elder brother]. London, 1649, 12mo." The author was F. de La Mothe le Vayer, and the Dedication is dated "Paris, March 25, 1647." In a pencil note in Evelyn's own copy he says, "I was like to be call'd in question by the Rebels for this booke, being published a few days before his Majesty's decollation." It is reprinted in the *Miscellaneous Writings*, 1825, 1-38.]

<sup>2</sup> [See *ante*, p. 3.]

<sup>3</sup> [Richard Owen of Eltham, 1606-83, ejected for royalism, 1643 (see *post*, under 18th March, 1649).]

<sup>4</sup> [The Court sat from 10th Feb. to 6th March (see *post*, p. 10).]

<sup>5</sup> Probably the artist mentioned by Walpole as Cornelius Neve, who drew a portrait of Ashmole. [There was a group of himself and his wife and children at Petworth.]

also *putti*,<sup>1</sup> in twelve squares, that were plundered from Sir James Palmer.

At Dubois', we saw two tables of *putti*, that were gotten, I know not how, out of the Castle of St. Angelo, by old Petit, thought to be Titian's; he had some good heads of Palma, and one of Steenwyck. Belcar showed us an excellent copy of his Majesty's Sleeping Venus and the Satyr, with other figures; for now they had plundered, sold, and dispersed a world of rare paintings of the King's, and his loyal subjects'. After all, Sir William Ducie<sup>2</sup> showed me some excellent things in miniature, and in oil of Holbein's; Sir Thomas More's head, and a whole-length figure of Ed. VI., which were certainly his Majesty's; also a picture of Queen Elizabeth; the Lady Isabella Thynne; a rare painting of Rottenhammer, being a Susanna; and a Magdalen of Quintin, the blacksmith; also a Henry VIII., of Holbein; and Francis the First, rare indeed, but of whose hand I know not.

16th February. Paris being now strictly besieged by the Prince de Condé, my wife being shut up with her father and mother, I wrote a letter of consolation to her: and, on the 22nd, having recommended Obadiah Walker,<sup>3</sup> a learned and most ingenious person, to be tutor to, and travel with, Mr. Hillyard's two sons, returned to Sayes Court.

25th. Came to visit me Dr. Joyliffe, discoverer of the lymphatic vessels, and an excellent anatomist.<sup>4</sup>

26th. Came to see me Captain George Evelyn,<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Putti*—boys' heads.

<sup>2</sup> [See *ante*, p. 4.]

<sup>3</sup> Evelyn has added in the margin against Walker's name, "Since an apostate." He was master of University College, Oxford, 1676-89. He died in 1699.

<sup>4</sup> [George Joyliffe, M.D., 1621-58. His discovery of the lymph ducts was published by Francis Glisson in 1654.]

<sup>5</sup> Second son of Sir John Evelyn, of Godstone.

my kinsman, the great traveller, and one who believed himself a better architect than really he was; witness the portico in the garden at Wotton; yet the great room at Albury is somewhat better understood. He had a large mind, but over-built everything.

*27th February.* Came out of France my wife's uncle (Paris still besieged), being robbed at sea by the Dunkirk pirates: I lost, among other goods, my wife's picture, painted by Monsieur Bourdon.<sup>1</sup>

*5th March.* Now were the lords murdered in the Palace Yard.<sup>2</sup>

*18th.* Mr Owen,<sup>3</sup> a sequestered and learned minister, preached in my parlour and gave us the blessed Sacrament, now wholly out of use in the parish churches, on which the Presbyterians and fanatics had usurped.

*21st.* I received letters from Paris from my wife, and from Sir Richard [Browne], with whom I kept up a political correspondence, with no small danger of being discovered.

*25th.* I heard the Common Prayer (a rare thing in these days) in St. Peter's, at Paul's Wharf, London; and, in the morning, the Archbishop of Armagh, that pious person and learned man, Ussher, in Lincoln's Inn Chapel.

*2nd April.* To London, and inventoried my movables that had hitherto been dispersed for fear of plundering: wrote into France, touching my sudden

<sup>1</sup> [Sebastian Bourdon, d. 1671?, "*peintre du Roi*." The picture was subsequently recovered (see *post*, under 1st February and 15th April, 1652).]

<sup>2</sup> The Duke of Hamilton, the Earl of Holland, and Lord Capel. The date should be 9th March.

<sup>3</sup> [See *ante*, p. 8. "You may well imagine, by the manners of the people," writes Evelyn in 1659, "and their prodigious opinions, that there is no Catechism nor Sacraments duely administered: the religion of England is preaching and sitting stil on Sundaies" (*A Character of England, Miscellaneous Writings*, 1825, p. 158). See also *infra*, 25th March.]

resolutions of coming over to them. On the 8th, again heard an excellent discourse from Archbishop Ussher, on Ephes. 4, v. 26-27.

My Italian collection being now arrived, came Moulins, the great chirurgeon, to see and admire the Tables of Veins and Arteries, which I purchased and caused to be drawn out of several human bodies at Padua.<sup>1</sup>

*11th April.* Received news out of France that peace was concluded; dined with Sir Joseph Evelyn, at Westminster; and on the 18th, I saw a private dissection, at Moulins' house.

*17th.* I fell dangerously ill of my head; was blistered and let blood behind the ears and forehead: on the 28rd, began to have ease by using the fumes of camomile on embers applied to my ears after all the physicians had done their best.

*29th.* I saw in London a huge ox bred in Kent, 17 feet in length, and much higher than I could reach.

*12th May.* I purchased the Manor of Warley Magna, in Essex: in the afternoon went to see Gildron's collections of paintings, where I found Mr. Endymion Porter,<sup>2</sup> of his late Majesty's Bedchamber.

*17th.* Went to Putney by water, in the barge with divers ladies, to see the schools, or Colleges, of the young gentlewomen.<sup>3</sup>

*19th.* To see a rare cabinet of one Delabarr, who had some good paintings, especially a monk at his beads.

*30th.* Un-kingship was proclaimed, and his

<sup>1</sup> [See *ante*, vol. i. p. 315.]

<sup>2</sup> [Endymion Porter, 1587-1649, poet and patron of poets.]

<sup>3</sup> Kept probably by Mrs. Bathsua Makins, a learned woman of that day. She had been preceptress to the Princess Elizabeth, King Charles's second daughter, and wrote on education (1673). There is a rare portrait of her, by Marshall.

Majesty's statues thrown down at St. Paul's Portico, and the Exchange.

*7th June.* I visited Sir Arthur Hopton<sup>1</sup> (brother to Sir Ralph, Lord Hopton, that noble hero), who having been Ambassador Extraordinary in Spain, sojourned some time with my Father-in-law at Paris, a most excellent person. Also Signora Lucretia, a Greek Lady, whom I knew in Italy, now come over with her husband, an English gentleman. Also, the Earl and Countess of Arundel, taking leave of them and other friends now ready to depart for France.<sup>2</sup> This night was a scuffle between some rebel soldiers and gentlemen about the Temple.

*10th.* Preached the Archbishop of Armagh in Lincoln's-Inn, from Romans 5, verse 13. I received the blessed Sacrament, preparatory to my journey.

*18th.* I dined with my worthy friend, Sir John Owen,<sup>3</sup> newly freed from sentence of death among the Lords that suffered. With him was one Carew, who played incomparably on the Welsh harp: afterwards, I treated divers ladies of my relations, in Spring Garden.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Sir Arthur Hopton, 1588-1650, was uncle—says Forster—not brother, to Lord Hopton (so well known for his services to Charles in the course of the Civil War); and would have succeeded his nephew in the title, as the latter died childless, but that Sir Arthur had himself died two years before him, also without issue. The title became extinct.

<sup>2</sup> [See *ante*, vol. i. p. 310 n.]

<sup>3</sup> A Royalist officer, 1600-66, whose life had been forfeited for the part he took against the Parliament. He was condemned with Holland, Capel and the rest (see *ante*, p. 10); but was saved by the timely interposition of Colonel Hutchinson. The latter humanely spoke for him in the House, though Sir John was a perfect stranger to him, because he perceived, while the great noblemen, his companions, found earnest intercessors, no one seemed to know anything of the knight, or would offer a word in favour of him. Sir John Owen afterwards proved himself ungrateful.

<sup>4</sup> [See *post*, under 10th May, 1654.]



This night was buried with great pomp, Dorislaus,<sup>1</sup> slain at the Hague, the villain who managed the trial against his sacred Majesty.

17th June. I got a pass from the rebel Bradshaw,<sup>2</sup> then in great power.

20th. I went to Putney, and other places on the Thames, to take prospects in crayon, to carry into France, where I thought to have them engraved.<sup>3</sup>

2nd July. I went from Wotton to Godstone (the residence of Sir John Evelyn),<sup>4</sup> where was also Sir John Evelyn of Wilts, when I took leave of both Sir Johns and their ladies. Mem. the prodigious memory of Sir John of Wilts' daughter, since married to Mr. W. Pierrepont,<sup>5</sup> and mother of the present Earl of Kingston. I returned to Sayes Court this night.

4th. Visited Lady Hatton,<sup>6</sup> her Lord sojourning at Paris with my father-in-law.

9th. Dined with Sir Walter Pye,<sup>7</sup> and my

<sup>1</sup> [Dr. Isaac Dorislaus, 1595-1649, who prepared the charge of high treason against Charles I. He was assassinated by Royalists at the Hague, when Envoy to the States-General.]

<sup>2</sup> [John Bradshaw, the regicide, 1602-59, at this time President of the Council of State (see *post*, under 17th July, 1650).]

<sup>3</sup> One of these he etched himself. The plate is now at Wotton House.

<sup>4</sup> [Died 1671.]

<sup>5</sup> [William Pierrepont was brother of the Marquis of Dorchester. Evelyn, first Duke of Kingston, his son, was the father of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu.]

<sup>6</sup> Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Sir Charles Montagu, and niece of Henry Earl of Manchester. She married Sir Christopher Hatton, 1605-70,—made a Knight of the Bath at the coronation of Charles I., who, on the 20th of July, 1643, created him Baron Hatton, of Kirby, for his devotion to the Royal cause. After the Restoration, he was sworn of the Privy Council, and appointed governor of Guernsey.

<sup>7</sup> [Probably the son of Sir Walter Pye, 1571-1635. See *post*, under 13th July, 1654.]

good friend, Mr. Eaton, afterwards a judge, who corresponded with me in France.

11th July. Came to see me old Alexander Ross,<sup>1</sup> the divine, historian, and poet; Mr. Henshaw, Mr. Scudamore, and other friends, to take leave of me.

12th. It was about three in the afternoon, I took oars for Gravesend, accompanied by my cousin Stephens, and sister Glanville,<sup>2</sup> who there supped with me and returned; whence I took post immediately to Dover, where I arrived by nine in the morning; and, about eleven that night, went on board a barque guarded by a pinnacle of eight guns; this being the first time the packet-boat had obtained a convoy, having several times before been pillaged. We had a good passage, though chased for some hours by a pirate, but he durst not attack our frigate, and we then chased him till he got under the protection of the Castle at Calais. It was a small privateer belonging to the Prince of Wales. I carried over with me my servant, Richard Hoare, an incomparable writer of several hands,<sup>3</sup> whom I afterwards preferred in the Prerogative Office,<sup>4</sup> at the return of his Majesty.

<sup>1</sup> Immortalised in Butler's couplet (*Hudibras*, Part I. Canto ii. ll. 1-2):

There was an ancient sage *Philosopher*,  
That had read *Alexander Ross* over.

He was a Scotchman, born in 1591; and after receiving an education for the church, took orders, became master of a free school at Southampton, and preached, wrote, and taught with a diligence that ought to have obtained him other reputation than Butler's ludicrous lines have bestowed upon him. He died in 1654.

<sup>2</sup> [See *ante*, p. 4.]

<sup>3</sup> [See *post*, under 17th May, 1653.]

<sup>4</sup> ["Where specimens of his writing in the entry of wills about this date may now be seen," says Bray. But a better example must be the 12mo *Officium Sanctæ et Individuæ Trinitatis*, composed and collected by Evelyn for his annual and quotidian use, with Calendars, Tables, etc. This is beautifully written by Hoare, and is signed by him. It is bound in old

Lady Catherine Scott, daughter of the Earl of Norwich,<sup>1</sup> followed us in a shallop, with Mr Arthur Slingsby, who left England *incognito*. At the entrance of the town, the Lieutenant-Governor, being on his horse with the guards, let us pass courteously. I visited Sir Richard Lloyd, an English gentleman, and walked in the church, where the ornament about the high altar of black marble is very fine, and there is a good picture of the Assumption. The citadel seems to be impregnable, and the whole country about it to be laid under water by sluices for many miles.

*16th July.* We departed from Paris, in company with that very pleasant lady (Lady Catherine Scott) and others. In all this journey we were greatly apprehensive of parties, which caused us to alight often out of our coach and walk separately on foot, with our guns on our shoulders, in all suspected places.

*1st August.* At three in the afternoon we came to St. Denis, saw the rarities of the church and treasury; and so to Paris that evening.

The next day, came to welcome me at dinner the Lord High Treasurer Cottington,<sup>2</sup> Sir Edward Hyde, Chancellor,<sup>3</sup> Sir Edward Nicholas, Secretary of State,<sup>4</sup> Sir George Carteret, Governor of Jersey,<sup>5</sup>

crimson morocco, with Evelyn's crest and monogram, and dated 1650. It was presented by him to Mrs. Godolphin; and sold by Puttick and Simpson, 7th March, 1873, for £36:10s., when it went back to Wotton House, where it now is.]

<sup>1</sup> His youngest daughter; married to Mr. James Scott, of Scott's Hall, Kent, supposed to have been a son of Prince Rupert.

<sup>2</sup> [Francis, Baron Cottington, 1578-1652, ambassador to Spain to obtain help for Prince Charles.]

<sup>3</sup> [Afterwards first Earl of Clarendon (1609-74). He accompanied Cottington to Spain.]

<sup>4</sup> [See *ante*, vol. i. p. 104.]

<sup>5</sup> Sir George was son and heir to Helier de Carteret, Deputy-governor of Jersey, and grandson of Sir Philip de Carteret, who in

and Dr. Earle,<sup>1</sup> having now been absent from my wife above a year and a half.

18th *August*. I went to St. Germain, to kiss his Majesty's hand; in the coach, which was my Lord Wilmot's,<sup>2</sup> went Mrs. Barlow, the King's mistress<sup>3</sup> and mother to the Duke of Monmouth, a brown, beautiful, bold, but insipid creature.

19th. I went to salute the French King and

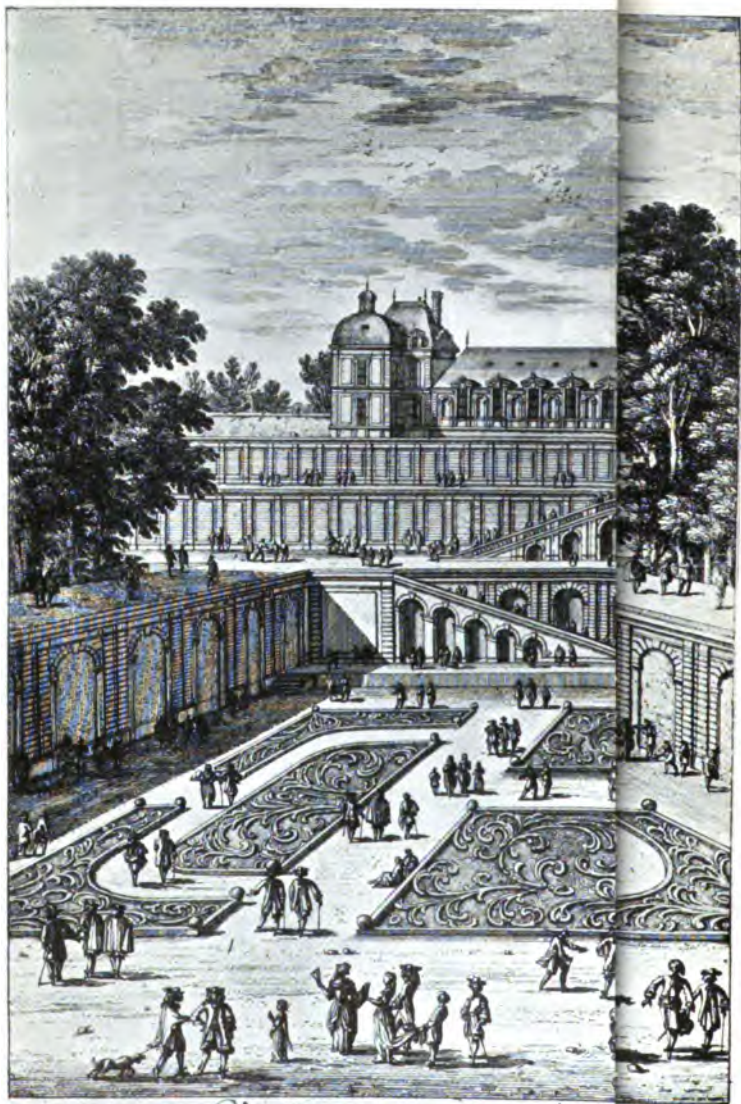
the reign of Elizabeth planted a colony in the island (in which his ancestors, from the time of Edward I., had held lands), to secure it from the French, who had frequently sought to obtain possession of it. The son of the Deputy-governor entered the navy at an early age: greatly distinguished himself in the service; and attracting the attention of the Duke of Buckingham, received the appointment from Charles I., of Joint-governor of Jersey, and Comptroller of the Navy. Having served the King during the civil wars, at the Restoration he was returned to Parliament for Portsmouth, and filled the office of Treasurer of the Navy. He died in January, 1680. Several members of his family distinguished themselves in the wars of the seventeenth century, and one of his descendants became a celebrated statesman under the first and second Georges.

<sup>1</sup> [See *ante*, p. 2.]

<sup>2</sup> Henry, third son of Charles Viscount Wilmot, of Athlone, raised to the English Peerage by Charles I., in June 29, 1643, as Baron Wilmot, of Adderbury. He held a command in the King's cavalry, in which he served with distinction at the battle of Roundway Doune; subsequently assisting Charles II. to escape from the field of Worcester; though, according to the King's statement to Pepys, it was rather in the way of hiding from, than in combating with his enemies. Nevertheless he was created Earl of Rochester, December 13, 1652, at Paris, where Charles for a short time assumed the privilege of sovereignty. He died at Sluys in 1658, and was succeeded by his only surviving son, afterwards the notorious Rochester.

<sup>3</sup> The lady here referred to was Lucy, daughter of Richard Walter, Esq., of Haverfordwest. (See Evelyn's later mention of her, under 15th July, 1685.) She had two children by the King; James, subsequently so celebrated as the Duke of Monmouth, and Mary, whose lot was obscure in comparison with that of her brother, but of course infinitely happier. She married a Mr. William Sarsfield, of Ireland, and after his death, William Fanshawe, Esq.





*Vue et perspective du C<sup>de</sup> de l'Académie de Peinture et de Sculpture.*  
 W. P. 169. av. C. P. R.

VIEW

the Queen Dowager ; and, on the 21st, returned in one of the Queen's coaches with my Lord Germain [Jermyn], Duke of Buckingham, Lord Wentworth,<sup>1</sup> and Mr. Crofts, since Lord Crofts.

*7th September.* Went with my wife and dear cousin to St. Germain, and kissed the Queen-Mother's hand ; dined with my Lord Keeper and Lord Hatton. Divers of the great men of France came to see the King. The next day came the Prince of Condé. Returning to Paris, we went to see the President Maison's palace, built castle-wise, of a milk-white fine freestone ; the house not vast, but well contrived, especially the staircase, and the ornaments of *putti*<sup>2</sup> about it. It is environed in a dry moat, the offices under-ground, the gardens very excellent with extraordinary long walks, set with elms, and a noble prospect towards the forest, and on the Seine towards Paris. Take it altogether, the meadows, walks, river, forest, corn-ground, and vineyards, I hardly saw anything in Italy exceed it. The iron gates are very magnificent. He has pulled down a whole village to make room for his pleasure about it.

*12th.* Dr. Creighton, a Scotchman, and one of his Majesty's chaplains, a learned Grecian who set out the Council of Florence, preached.<sup>3</sup>

*18th.* The King invited the Prince of Condé to supper at St. Cloud ; there I kissed the Duke of York's hand in the tennis-court, where I saw a famous match betwixt Monsieur Saumeurs and Colonel Cooke, and so returned to Paris. It was noised about that I was knighted, a dignity I often declined.

*1st October.* Went with my cousin Tuke

<sup>1</sup> [Son of the Earl of Cleveland.]

<sup>2</sup> [See *ante*, p. 9.]

<sup>3</sup> [Dr. Robert Creighton, 1593-1672, afterwards Bishop of Bath and Wells. He had been Chaplain to Charles I.]

(afterwards Sir Samuel),<sup>1</sup> to see the fountains of St. Cloud and Rueil; and, after dinner, to talk with the poor ignorant and superstitious anchorite at Mount Calvary, and so to Paris.

2nd October. Came Mr. William Coventry (afterwards Sir William)<sup>2</sup> and the Duke's secretary, etc., to visit me.

5th. Dined with Sir George Ratcliffe, the great favourite of the late Earl of Strafford, formerly Lord Deputy of Ireland, decapitated.

7th. To the Louvre, to visit the Countess of Morton, Governess to Madame.

15th. Came news of Drogheda being taken by the rebels, and all put to the sword, which made us very sad, fore-running the loss of all Ireland.

21st. I went to hear Dr. D'Avinson's lecture in the physical garden, and see his laboratory, he being Prefect of that excellent garden, and Professor Botanicus.

30th. I was at the funeral of one Mr. Downes, a sober English gentleman. We accompanied his corpse to Charenton, where he was interred in a cabbage-garden, yet with the office of our church, which was said before in our chapel at Paris. Here I saw also where they buried the great soldier,

<sup>1</sup> [Colonel Samuel Tuke, of Cressing Temple, Essex, d. 1674, royalist and playwright, author of the tragi-comedy *The Adventures of Five Hours*, 1663, with which Pepys was highly delighted. It was based upon Calderon. Tuke was made a baronet in 1664.]

<sup>2</sup> William Coventry, 1628?-86, was knighted in 1665. He was a member of the Privy Council of Charles II., and Commissioner of the Navy, but dismissed the Court for sending a challenge to the Duke of Buckingham. He was, says Burnet, "a man of great notions and eminent vertues, the best Speaker in the House of Commons, and capable of bearing the chief ministry, as it was once thought he was very near it" (*History of His Own Time*, 1724, i. 170). Evelyn, in a subsequent mention in his journal, characterises him as "a wise and witty gentleman." (See under 11th October, 1659.)



Gassion, who had a tomb built over him like a fountain, the design and materials mean enough. I returned to Paris with Sir Philip Musgrave, and Sir Marmaduke Langdale, since Lord Langdale. —Memorandum, This was a very sickly and mortal autumn.

*5th November.* I received divers letters out of England, requiring me to come over about settling some of my concerns.

*7th.* Dr. George Morley (since Bishop of Winchester) preached in our chapel on Matthew 4, verse 8.<sup>1</sup>

*18th.* I went with my father-in-law to see his audience at the French Court, where next the Pope's Nuncio, he was introduced by the master of ceremonies, and, after delivery of his credentials, as from our King, since his Father's murder, he was most graciously received by the King of France and his mother, with whom he had a long audience. This was in the Palais Cardinal.<sup>2</sup>

After this, being presented to his Majesty and the Queen Regent, I went to see the house built by the late great Cardinal de Richelieu. The most observable thing is the gallery, painted with the portraits of the most illustrious persons and signal actions in France, with innumerable emblems betwixt every table. In the middle of the gallery, is a neat chapel, rarely paved in work and devices of several sorts of marble, besides the altar-piece and two statues of white marble, one of St. John, the other of the Virgin Mary, by Bernini. The rest of the apartments are rarely gilded and carved, with some good modern paintings. In the presence

<sup>1</sup> [Dr. George Morley, 1597-1684. He had been ejected in 1648; but performed service for the royalists wherever he stayed while abroad. He had been at Oxford with Clarendon, Waller, and John Hampden.]

<sup>2</sup> [See *ante*, vol. i. p. 102.]

hang three huge branches of crystal. In the French King's bedchamber, is an alcove like another chamber, set as it were in a chamber like a movable box, with a rich embroidered bed. The fabric of the palace is not magnificent, being but of two stories; but the garden is so spacious as to contain a noble basin and fountain continually playing, and there is a mall, with an elbow, or turning, to protract it. So I left his Majesty on the terrace, busy in seeing a bull-baiting, and returned home in Prince Edward's coach with Mr. Paul, the Prince Elector's agent.

19th November. Visited Mr. Waller, where meeting Dr. Holden, an English Sorbonne divine, we fell into some discourse about religion.

28th December. Going to wait on Mr. Waller, I viewed St. Stephen's church; the building, though Gothic, is full of carving; within it is beautiful, especially the choir and winding stairs. The glass is well painted, and the tapestry hung up this day about the choir, representing the conversion of Constantine, was exceeding rich.

I went to that excellent engraver, Du Bosse,<sup>1</sup> for his instruction about some difficulties in perspective which were delivered in his book.

I concluded this year in health, for which I gave solemn thanks to Almighty God.<sup>2</sup>

29th. I christened Sir Hugh Rilie's child with Sir George Radcliffe in our chapel, the parents being so poor that they had provided no gossips, so as several of us drawing lots it fell on me, the Dean of Peterborough<sup>3</sup> (Dr. Cosin) officiating: we

<sup>1</sup> [Abraham Bosse, 1602-76. His *Traicté des Manières de Graver en Taille Douce sur l'Air[a]in*, etc., an authoritative manual, appeared in 1645. Bosse was then living at the *Rose rouge, Île du Palais, devant le Megisserie*, where Evelyn may have visited him.]

<sup>2</sup> This—says Bray—Evelyn does not fail to repeat at the end of every year, but it will not always be necessary here to insert it.

<sup>3</sup> [See *post*, p. 25.]





WORKSHOP OF ABRAHAM BOSSE

named it Andrew, being on the eve of that Apostle's day.

1649-50 : *1st January*. I began this Jubilee with the public office in our chapel : dined at my Lady Herbert's, wife of Sir Edward Herbert, afterwards Lord Keeper.

18<sup>th</sup>. This night were the Prince of Condé and his brother carried prisoners to the Bois de Vincennes.<sup>1</sup>

6<sup>th</sup> *February*. In the evening, came Signor Alessandro, one of the Cardinal Mazarin's musicians, and a person of great name for his knowledge in that art, to visit my wife, and sung before divers persons of quality in my chamber.

1<sup>st</sup> *March*. I went to see the masquerados, which was very fantastic ; but nothing so quiet and solemn as I found it at Venice.

18<sup>th</sup>. Saw a triumph in Monsieur del Camp's Academy, where divers of the French and English *noblesse*, especially my Lord of Ossory, and Richard, sons to the Marquis of Ormonde (afterwards Duke),<sup>2</sup> did their exercises on horseback in

<sup>1</sup> [This was a result of the intrigues of Mazarin. Condé was kept in prison for about a year.]

<sup>2</sup> James Butler, 1610-88, Marquis of Ormonde, and Earl of Ossory in the Irish Peerage. In the Civil Wars he exerted himself zealously in the cause of his master, till obliged to seek safety with his family in exile. He returned at the Restoration, and Charles II., on the 20th of July, 1660, raised him to the English Peerage by the titles of Baron Butler and Earl of Brecknock, and advanced him in the Irish Peerage to the Dukedom of Ormonde, and again appointed him to the Lord-Lieutenancy of Ireland. Of the sons mentioned by Evelyn, the first was the Duke's second son, Thomas, Earl of Ossory, 1634-80, who proved himself an efficient commander both by sea and land, an able statesman, and an accomplished man of letters. According to Anthony Wood, his heroism in the sea-fight with the Dutch, in 1673, "was beyond the fiction of romance"; and Evelyn's correspondence contains earnest tributes to his character. In 1665, he was summoned to Parliament as Lord Butler, of Moore Park ; and was afterwards employed as General of the Horse,

noble equipage, before a world of spectators and great persons, men and ladies. It ended in a collation.

*25th April.* I went out of town to see Madrid,<sup>1</sup> a palace so called, built by Francis the First. It is observable only for its open manner of architecture, being much of terraces and galleries one over another to the very roof; and for the materials, which are most of earth painted like porcelain, or China-ware, whose colours appear very fresh; but is very fragile. There are whole statues and *riebeas* of this pottery, chimney-pieces, and columns both within and without. Under the chapel is a chimney in the midst of a room parted from the Salle des Gardes. The house is fortified with a deep ditch, and has an admirable vista towards the Bois de Boulogne and river.

*30th.* I went to see the collection of the famous sculptor,<sup>2</sup> Stefano Della Bella, returning now into Italy, and bought some prints: and likewise visited Perelle,<sup>3</sup> the landscape graver.

*3rd May.* At the hospital of La Charité, I saw the operation of cutting for the stone. A child of eight or nine years old underwent the operation with most extraordinary patience, and expressing

as member of the Privy Council, and as deputy for his father in his Irish government. Richard, the younger brother of Thomas, *d.* 1685, also referred to by Evelyn, was created an Irish Peer in 1662, by the titles of Baron Butler, Viscount Tullogh, and Earl of Arran; and became an English Peer in 1673, by the title of Baron Butler of Weston. He too was deputy for his father, and distinguished himself both by sea and land, particularly in the naval engagement with the Dutch, in 1673, and against the mutinous garrison of Carrickfergus. Evelyn highly esteemed this family, and makes frequent allusion to them.

<sup>1</sup> See *ante*, vol. i. p. 85.

<sup>2</sup> [*I.e.* engraver. Stefano Della Bella, 1610-64, was a Florentine. Richelieu had employed him to make and engrave drawings of the siege of Arras by the royal army.]

<sup>3</sup> [Gabriel Perelle, 1610-75, the "Hollar of France."]

great joy when he saw the stone was drawn. The use I made of it was, to give Almighty God hearty thanks that I had not been subject to this deplorable infirmity.

*7th May.* I went with Sir Richard Browne's lady and my wife, together with the Earl of Chesterfield,<sup>1</sup> Lord Ossory and his brother, to Vambre, a place near the city famous for butter: when, coming homewards, being on foot, a quarrel arose between Lord Ossory and a man in a garden, who thrust Lord Ossory from the gate with uncivil language; on which our young gallants struck the fellow on the pate, and bade him ask pardon, which he did with much submission, and so we parted. But we were not gone far before we heard a noise behind us, and saw people coming with guns, swords, staves, and forks, and who followed, flinging stones; on which, we turned, and were forced to engage, and with our swords, stones, and the help of our servants (one of whom had a pistol) made our retreat for near a quarter of a mile, when we took shelter in a house, where we were besieged, and at length forced to submit to be prisoners. Lord Hatton, with some others, were taken prisoners in the flight, and his lordship was confined under three locks and as many doors in this rude fellow's master's house, who pretended to be Steward to Monsieur St. Germain, one of the Presidents of the Grande Chambre du Parlement, and a Canon of Notre Dame. Several of us were much hurt. One of our lackeys escaping to Paris, caused the

<sup>1</sup> Sir Philip Stanhope, 1584-1656, created 7th November, 1616, Baron Stanhope of Shelford; and on the 4th August, 1628, Earl of Chesterfield. At the breaking out of hostilities with the Parliament, his lordship became a determined partisan for the King, and garrisoned his house at Shelford, where his son Philip lost his life, and the place was stormed and burned to the ground. Lord Chesterfield at last found safety in flight, and retired to France.

bailiff of St. Germain to come with his guard and rescue us. Immediately afterwards, came Monsieur St. Germain himself, in great wrath, on hearing that his housekeeper was assaulted; but when he saw the King's officers, the gentlemen and noblemen, with his Majesty's Resident, and understood the occasion, he was ashamed of the accident, requesting the fellow's pardon, and desiring the ladies to accept their submission and a supper at his house. It was ten o'clock at night ere we got to Paris, guarded by Prince Griffith (a Welsh hero going under that name, and well known in England for his extravagancies), together with the scholars of two academies, who came forth to assist and meet us on horseback, and would fain have alarmed the town we received the affront from: which, with much ado, we prevented.

12th May. Complaint being come to the Queen and Court of France of the affront we had received, the President was ordered to ask pardon of Sir R. Browne, his Majesty's Resident, and the fellow to make submission, and be dismissed. There came along with him the President de Thou, son of the great Thuanus [the historian], and so all was composed. But I have often heard that gallant gentleman, my Lord Ossory, affirm solemnly that in all the conflicts he ever was in at sea or on land (in the most desperate of both which he had often been) he believed he was never in so much danger as when these people rose against us. He used to call it the *bataille de Vambre*, and remember it with a great deal of mirth as an adventure, *en cavalier*.

24th. We were invited by the Noble Academies to a running at the ring where were many brave horses, gallants, and ladies, my lord Stanhope<sup>1</sup> entertaining us with a collation.

<sup>1</sup> Charles, second Baron Stanhope, of Harrington. He died in 1677. Henry, son of Philip, first Earl of Chesterfield, and his



*12th June.* Being Trinity-Sunday, the Dean of Peterborough<sup>1</sup> preached; after which, there was an ordination of two divines, Durel<sup>2</sup> and Brevint<sup>3</sup> (the one was afterwards Dean of Windsor, the other of Durham, both very learned persons). The Bishop of Galloway<sup>4</sup> officiated with great gravity, after a pious and learned exhortation declaring the weight and dignity of their function, especially now in a time of the poor Church of England's affliction. He magnified the sublimity of the calling, from the object, viz. the salvation of men's souls, and the glory of God; producing many human instances of the transitoriness and vanity of all other dignities; that of all the triumphs the Roman conquerors made, none was comparable to that of our Blessed Saviour's, when he led captivity captive, and gave gifts to men, namely, that of the Holy Spirit, by which his faithful and painful ministers triumphed over Satan as oft as they reduced a sinner from the error of his ways. He then proceeded to the ordination. They were presented by the Dean in their surplices before the altar, the Bishop sitting in a chair at one side; and so were made both Deacons and Priests at the same time, in regard to the necessity of the times, there being so few

son Philip (subsequently second Earl), also in succession bore the title of Lord Stanhope.

<sup>1</sup> [Dr. John Cosin, 1594-1672, afterwards Bishop of Durham, and reputed "one of the most popish of Anglican divines." He had been deprived of his benefices in 1640 by the Long Parliament, had come to France in 1643, and was at this date Chaplain to the Anglican royalists at Paris.]

<sup>2</sup> [John Durel, 1625-83. He had assisted in the royalist defence of Jersey in 1647. He was not made Dean of Windsor until 1677.]

<sup>3</sup> [Daniel Brevint or Brevin, 1616-95. He received a stall in Durham Cathedral in 1660, and became Dean and Prebendary of Lincoln, 1682.]

<sup>4</sup> [Thomas Sydserff, 1581-1663, who was made Bishop of Orkney at the Restoration.]

Bishops left in England, and consequently danger of a failure of both functions. Lastly, they proceeded to the Communion. This was all performed in Sir Richard Browne's chapel, at Paris.

18th June. I sate to the famous sculptor,<sup>1</sup> Nanteüil, who was afterwards made a knight by the French King for his art. He engraved my picture in copper. At a future time, he presented me with my own picture,<sup>2</sup> done all with his pen; an extraordinary curiosity.

21st. I went to see the Samaritan, or Pump, at the end of the Pont Neuf,<sup>3</sup> which, though to appearance promising no great matter, is, besides the machine, furnished with innumerable rarities both of art and nature; especially the costly grotto, where are the fairest corals, growing out of the very rock, that I have seen; also great pieces of crystal, amethysts, gold in the mine, and other metals and marcasites, with two great *conchas*, which the owner told us cost him 200 crowns at Amsterdam. He showed us many landscapes and prospects, very rarely painted in miniature, some with the pen and crayon; divers antiquities and *relievos* of Rome; above all, that of the inside of the Amphitheatre of Titus, incomparably drawn by Monsieur St. Clere<sup>4</sup> himself: two boys and three skeletons, moulded by Fiamingo; a book of statues with the pen made for Henry IV., rarely executed, and by which one may discover many errors in the *taille-douce* of Perrier,<sup>5</sup> who has added divers conceits of his own

<sup>1</sup> [*I.e.* engraver.]

<sup>2</sup> Robert Nanteüil, 1630-98. He both drew and engraved. His portrait of Evelyn is known to connoisseurs as the "*petit My Lord*." He also drew portraits of Mrs. Evelyn and Sir R. Browne, which are still at Wotton House.

<sup>3</sup> [See *ante*, vol. i. p. 69.]

<sup>4</sup> This was the name of the owner.

<sup>5</sup> [Francis Perrier or Périer ("le Bourguignon"), 1590-1650,

that are not in the originals. He has likewise an infinite collection of *taille-douces*, richly bound in morocco. He led us into a stately chamber furnished to have entertained a prince, with pictures of the greatest masters, especially a Venus of Pierino del Vaga; the *putti* carved in the chimney-piece by the Fleming; the vases of porcelain, and many designed by Raphael; some paintings of Poussin, and Fioravanti;<sup>1</sup> antiques in brass; the looking-glass and stands rarely carved. In a word, all was great, choice and magnificent, and not to be passed by as I had often done, without the least suspicion that there were such rare things to be seen in that place. At a future visit, he showed a new grotto and a bathing-place, hewn through the battlements of the arches of Pont Neuf, into a wide vault at the intercolumniation, so that the coaches and horses thundered over our heads.

*27th June.* I made my will, and taking leave of my wife and other friends, took horse for England, paying the *messenger* eight pistoles for me and my servant to Calais, setting out with seventeen in company well-armed, some Portuguese, Swiss, and French, whereof six were captains and officers. We came the first night to Beaumont; next day, to Beauvais, and lay at Pois, and the next, without dining, reached Abbeville; next, dined at Montreuil, and proceeding met a company on foot (being now within the inroads of the parties which dangerously infest this day's journey from St. Omer and the frontiers), which we drew very near to, ready and resolute to charge through, and accordingly were ordered and led by a captain of our train; but, as we were on the speed, they called out, and proved to be Scotchmen, newly

a French painter and engraver, who, c. 1635, reproduced the principal statues and bas-reliefs at Rome.]

<sup>1</sup> [See *ante*, vol. i. p. 267.]

raised and landed, and few among them armed. This night, we were well treated at Boulogne. The next day, we marched in good order, the passage being now exceeding dangerous, and got to Calais by a little after two. The sun so scorched my face, that it made the skin peel off.

I dined with Mr. Booth, his Majesty's agent; and, about three in the afternoon, embarked in the packet-boat; hearing there was a pirate then also setting sail, we had security from molestation, and so with a fair S.W. wind in seven hours we landed at Dover. The busy watchman would have us to the Mayor to be searched, but the gentleman being in bed, we were dismissed.

Next day being Sunday, they would not permit us to ride post, so that afternoon our trunks were visited.

The next morning, by four, we set out for Canterbury, where I met with my Lady Catherine Scott,<sup>1</sup> whom that very day twelve months before I met at sea going for France; she had been visiting Sir Thomas Peyton, not far off, and would needs carry me in her coach to Gravesend. We dined at Sittingbourne, came late to Gravesend, and so to Deptford, taking leave of my lady about four the next morning.

*5th July.* I supped in the city with my Lady Catherine Scott, at one Mr. Dubois',<sup>2</sup> where was a gentlewoman called Everard, who was a very great chemist.

*Sunday 7th.* In the afternoon, having a mind to see what was doing among the rebels, then in full possession at Whitehall, I went thither, and found one at exercise in the chapel, after their way; thence, to St. James's, where another was preaching in the court abroad.

<sup>1</sup> [See *ante*, p. 15.]

<sup>2</sup> [See *ante*, p. 9.]

*17th July.* I went to London to obtain a pass,<sup>1</sup> intending but a short stay in England.

*25th.* I went by Epsom to Wotton, saluting Sir Robert Cook and my sister Glanville; the country was now much molested by soldiers, who took away gentlemen's horses for the service of the State, as then called.

*4th August.* I heard a sermon at the Rolls; and, in the afternoon, wandered to divers churches, the pulpits full of novices and novelties.<sup>2</sup>

*6th.* To Mr. Walker's,<sup>3</sup> a good painter, who showed me an excellent copy of Titian.

*12th.* Set out for Paris, taking post at Gravesend, and so that night to Canterbury, where being surprised by the soldiers, and having only an antiquated pass, with some fortunate dexterity I got clear of them, though not without extraordinary hazard, having before counterfeited one with success, it being so difficult to procure one of the rebels without entering into oaths, which I never would do. At Dover, money to the searchers and officers was as authentic as the hand and seal of

<sup>1</sup> See also *ante*, p. 13. A copy of it is subjoined: "These are to will and require you to permitt and suffer the bearer thereof, John Evelyn, Esq<sup>r</sup>, to transport himselfe, two servants, and other necessaryes, unto any port of France, without any your letts or molestations, of which you are not to fayle, and for which this shall be your sufficient warrant. Given at the Councill of State at Whitehall this 25th of June, 1650.

"Signed in the Name and by Order of the Councelle of State,  
appoynted by authority of Parliament,  
Jo. BRADSHAWE, P'sid't.

"To all Custom<sup>rs</sup>, Comptrol<sup>rs</sup>, and Searchers, and  
all other Officers of y<sup>e</sup> Ports or Customes."

Under the signature Evelyn has added in his own writing: "The hand of that villain who sentenced our Charles I. of B[lessed] M[emory]." Its endorsement, also in his writing, is, "The Passe from the Counsell of State 1650."

<sup>2</sup> [See *post*, under 14th March, 1652.]

<sup>3</sup> [See *ante*, p. 5.]

Bradshaw himself, where I had not so much as my trunk opened.

*18th August.* At six in the evening, set sail for Calais; the wind not favourable, I was very sea-sick, coming to an anchor about one o'clock; about five in the morning, we had a long boat to carry us to land, though at a good distance; this we willingly entered, because two vessels were chasing us; but, being now almost at the harbour's mouth, through inadvertency there brake in upon us two such heavy seas, as had almost sunk the boat, I being near the middle up in water. Our steersman, it seems, apprehensive of the danger, was preparing to leap into the sea and trust to swimming, but seeing the vessel emerge, he put her into the pier, and so, God be thanked! we got to Calais, though wet.

Here I waited for company, the passage towards Paris being still infested with volunteers from the Spanish frontiers.<sup>1</sup>

*16th.* The Regiment of Picardy, consisting of about 1400 horse and foot (amongst them was a captain whom I knew), being come to town, I took horses for myself and servant, and marched under their protection to Boulogne. It was a miserable spectacle to see how these tattered soldiers pillaged the poor people of their sheep, poultry, corn, cattle, and whatever came in their way; but they had such ill pay, that they were ready themselves to starve.

As we passed St. Denis, the people were in uproar, the guards doubled, and everybody running with their movables to Paris, on an alarm that the enemy was within five leagues of them; so miserably exposed was even this part of France at this time.

The 30th, I got to Paris, after an absence of two months only.

<sup>1</sup> [See *ante*, vol. i. p. 65.]

*1st September.* My Lady Herbert<sup>1</sup> invited me to dinner; Paris, and indeed all France, being full of loyal fugitives.

Came Mr. Waller to see me, about a child of his which the Popish midwife had baptized.

*15th October.* Sir Thomas Osborne (afterwards Lord Treasurer)<sup>2</sup> and Lord Stanhope shot for a wager of five louis, to be spent on a treat; they shot so exact, that it was a drawn match.

*1st November.* Took leave of my Lord Stanhope,<sup>3</sup> going on his journey towards Italy; also visited my Lord Hatton, Comptroller of his Majesty's Household, the Countess of Morton, Governess to the Lady Henrietta,<sup>4</sup> and Mrs. Gardner, one of the Queen's Maids of Honour.

*6th.* Sir Thomas Osborne supping with us, his groom was set upon in the street before our house, and received two wounds, but gave the assassin nine, who was carried off to the Charité Hospital. Sir Thomas went for England on the 8th, and carried divers letters for me to my friends.

*16th.* I went to Monsieur Visse's, the French King's Secretary, to a concert of French music and voices, consisting of twenty-four, two theorbos,

<sup>1</sup> [See *ante*, p. 21.]

<sup>2</sup> Sir Thomas Osborne, 1631-1712, only son of Sir Edward Osborne, 1596-1647, Vice-President of the Council for the North of England, and Lieutenant-General of the Northern Forces. Sir Edward had devoted himself to the cause of Charles I., and his son followed his example. He shared the same fortune as other exiles during the Protectorate, but at the Restoration was amply rewarded, dignities and titles being showered upon him with excessive liberality. Lord High Treasurer, and Knight of the Garter, he was successively created Baron Osborne, of Kiveton, and Viscount Latimer, of Danby; Earl of Danby, Marquis of Carmarthen, and Duke of Leeds, in the English Peerage; and Viscount Dunblane, in the Peerage of Scotland.

<sup>3</sup> [See *ante*, p. 24.]

<sup>4</sup> [See *ante*, vol. i. p. 114. The Princess Henrietta, 1644-70, daughter of Charles I., afterwards married, 31st March, 1661, to Philip, Duke of Orleans, brother of Louis XIV.]

and but one bass viol, being a rehearsal of what was to be sung at vespers at St. Cecilia's, on her feast, she being patroness of musicians. News arrived of the death of the Prince of Orange of the small-pox.<sup>1</sup>

*14th December.* I went to visit Mr. Ratcliffe, in whose lodging was an impostor that had like to have imposed upon us a pretended secret of multiplying gold; it is certain he had lived some time in Paris in extraordinary splendour, but I found him to be an egregious cheat.

*22nd.* Came the learned Dr. Boet to visit me.

*31st.* I gave God thanks for his mercy and protection the past year, and made up my accounts, which came this year to 7015 livres, near £600 sterling.

*1650-1: 1st January.* I wrote to my brother at Wotton, about his garden and fountains. After evening prayer, Mr. Wainsford called on me: he had long been Consul at Aleppo, and told me many strange things of those countries, the Arabs especially.

*27th.* I had letters of the death of Mrs. Newton, my grandmother-in-law;<sup>2</sup> she had a most tender care of me during my childhood, and was a woman of extraordinary charity and piety.

*29th.* Dr. Duncan preached on 8 Matt. v. 34, showing the mischief of covetousness. My Lord Marquis of Ormonde,<sup>3</sup> and Inchiquin,<sup>4</sup> come newly out of Ireland, were this day at chapel.

*9th February.* Cardinal Mazarin was proscribed by Arrêt du Parlement, and great commotions began in Paris.

*28rd.* I went to see the Bons Hommes, a convent that has a fair cloister painted with the

<sup>1</sup> [William II., d. 6th November, 1650.]

<sup>2</sup> [See *ante*, vol. i. p. 8.]

<sup>3</sup> [See *ante*, p. 21.]

<sup>4</sup> [Murrough O'Brien, first Earl of Inchiquin, 1614-74.]



lives of Hermits; a glorious altar now erecting in the chapel; the garden on the rock with divers descents, with a fine vineyard and a delicate prospect toward the city.

*24th February.* I went to see a dromedary, a very monstrous beast, much like the camel, but larger. There was also dancing on the rope; but, above all, surprising to those who were ignorant of the address,<sup>1</sup> was the water-spouter,<sup>2</sup> who, drinking only fountain-water, rendered out of his mouth in several glasses all sorts of wine and sweet waters. For a piece of money, he discovered the secret to me. I waited on Friar Nicholas at the convent at Chaillot, who, being an excellent chemist, showed me his laboratory, and rare collection of spagyric<sup>3</sup> remedies. He was both physician and apothecary of the convent, and, instead of the names of his drugs, he painted his boxes and pots with the figure of the drug, or simple, contained in them. He showed me as a rarity some  $\varphi$  of antimony:<sup>4</sup> he had cured Monsieur Senatin of a desperate sickness, for which there was building a monumental altar that was to cost £1500.

*11th March.* I went to the Châtelet,<sup>5</sup> or prison, where a malefactor was to have the question, or torture, given to him, he refusing to confess the robbery with which he was charged, which was thus: they first bound his wrist with a strong rope,

<sup>1</sup> ["Address" must here mean "method of procedure."]

<sup>2</sup> [Florian Marchand. He is said to have come from Tours to London in 1650. He had learned his trick of an Italian, one Bloise [? Blash de Manfre], from whom Mazarin had extorted his secret. There is a long (and rather nauseous) account of Marchand's *modus operandi* in Wilson's *Wonderful Characters*; and there is a 4to portrait of him by Richardson.]

<sup>3</sup> [Of, or pertaining to chemistry (Bailey).]

<sup>4</sup> A supposed preparation of this is alleged to have been that which was afterwards perfected by Dr. Robert James, 1705-76, whose name it still bears.

<sup>5</sup> [See *ante*, vol. i. p. 77.]

or small cable, and one end of it to an iron ring made fast to the wall, about four feet from the floor, and then his feet with another cable, fastened about five feet farther than his utmost length to another ring on the floor of the room. Thus suspended, and yet lying but aslant, they slid a horse<sup>1</sup> of wood under the rope which bound his feet, which so exceedingly stiffened it, as severed the fellow's joints in miserable sort, drawing him out at length in an extraordinary manner, he having only a pair of linen drawers on his naked body. Then, they questioned him of a robbery (the Lieutenant being present, and a clerk that wrote), which not confessing, they put a higher horse under the rope, to increase the torture and extension. In this agony, confessing nothing, the executioner with a horn (just such as they drench horses with) stuck the end of it into his mouth, and poured the quantity of two buckets of water down his throat and over him, which so prodigiously swelled him, as would have pitied and affrighted any one to see it; for all this, he denied all that was charged to him. They then let him down, and carried him before a warm fire to bring him to himself, being now to all appearance dead with pain. What became of him, I know not; but the gentleman whom he robbed constantly averred him to be the man, and the fellow's suspicious pale looks, before he knew he should be racked, betrayed some guilt; the Lieutenant was also of that opinion, and told us at first sight (for he was a lean, dry, black young man) he would conquer the torture; and so it seems they could not hang him, but did use in such cases, where the evidence is very presumptive, to send them to the galleys, which is as bad as death.

There was another malefactor to succeed, but the spectacle was so uncomfortable, that I was not

<sup>1</sup> [A wedge or support.]

able to stay the sight of another. It represented yet to me the intolerable sufferings which our Blessed Saviour must needs undergo, when his body was hanging with all its weight upon the nails on the cross.

*20th March.* I went this night with my wife to a ball at the Marquis de Crevecoeur's, where were divers Princes, Dukes, and great persons; but what appeared to me very mean was, that it began with a puppet-play.

*6th May.* I attended the Ambassador to a masque at Court, where the French King in person danced five entries; but being engaged in discourse, and better entertained with one of the Queen-Regent's Secretaries, I soon left the entertainment.

*11th.* To the Palace Cardinal, where the Master of the Ceremonies placed me to see the royal masque, or opera. The first scene represented a chariot of singers composed of the rarest voices that could be procured, representing Cornaro<sup>1</sup> and Temperance; this was overthrown by Bacchus and his revellers; the rest consisted of several entries and pageants of excess, by all the elements. A masque representing fire was admirable; then came a Venus out of the clouds. The conclusion was a heaven, whither all ascended. But the glory of the masque was the great persons performing in it, the French King, his brother the Duke of Anjou, with all the grantees of the Court, the King performing to the admiration of all. The music was twenty-nine violins, vested à l'antique, but the habits of the masquers were stupendously rich and glorious.

*23rd.* I went to take leave of the ambassadors for Spain, which were my Lord Treasurer Cottington

<sup>1</sup> Lewis Cornaro, 1467-1566, the famous Venetian writer on Temperance.

and Sir Edward Hyde;<sup>1</sup> and, as I returned, I visited Mr. Morine's<sup>2</sup> garden, and his other rarities, especially corals, minerals, stones, and natural curiosities; crabs of the Red Sea, the body no bigger than a small bird's egg, but flatter, and the two legs, or claws, a foot in length. He had abundance of shells, at least 1000 sorts, which furnished a cabinet of great price; and had a very curious collection of scarabees, and insects, of which he was compiling a natural history. He had also the pictures of his choice flowers and plants in miniature. He told me there were 10,000 sorts of tulips only. He had *taille-douces* out of number; the head of the Rhinoceros bird, which was very extravagant, and one butterfly resembling a perfect bird.

25th May. I went to visit Mr. Thomas White, a learned priest and famous philosopher,<sup>3</sup> author of the book *De Mundo*, with whose worthy brother I was well acquainted at Rome. I was showed a cabinet of *maroquin*, or Turkey leather, so curiously inlaid with other leather, and gilding, that the workman demanded for it 800 livres.

The Dean (of Peterborough) preached on the feast of Pentecost, perstringing those of Geneva for their irreverence of the Blessed Virgin.<sup>4</sup>

4th June. Trinity-Sunday, I was absent from church in the afternoon on a charitable affair for the Abbess of Boucharvant, who but for me had been abused by that chemist, Du Menie.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> [See *ante*, p. 15.]

<sup>2</sup> See *ante*, vol. i. p. 101.

<sup>3</sup> A native of Essex, 1593-1676, educated abroad. His family being Roman Catholic, he became a priest of that church, and sub-rector of the college at Douay. He advocated the Cartesian philosophy, and this brought him into an extensive correspondence with Hobbes and Descartes, in the course of which he Latinised his name into Thomas Albius.

<sup>4</sup> ["Censuring" or "reproving," from the Latin *perstringo*.]

<sup>5</sup> Perhaps the impostor of p. 32 (*ante*).

Returning, I stept into the Grand Jesuits, who had this high day exposed their *ciborium* [pyx], made all of solid gold and imagery, a piece of infinite cost. Dr. Croydon, coming out of Italy and from Padua, came to see me, on his return to England.

5th June. I accompanied my Lord Strafford,<sup>1</sup> and some other noble persons, to hear Madam Lavarán sing, which she did both in French and Italian excellently well, but her voice was not strong.

7th. Corpus Christi Day, there was a grand procession, all the streets tapestried, several altars erected there, full of images, and other rich furniture, especially that before the Court, of a rare design and architecture. There were abundance of excellent pictures and great vases of silver.

18th. I went to see the collection of one Monsieur Poignant, which for variety of agates, crystals, onyxes, porcelain, medals, statues, *relievos*, paintings, *taille-douces*, and antiquities, might compare with the Italian virtuosos.

21st. I became acquainted with Sir William Curtius,<sup>2</sup> a very learned and judicious person of the Palatinate. He had been scholar to Alstedius, the Encyclopedist, was well advanced in years, and now Resident for his Majesty at Frankfort.

2nd July. Came to see me the Earl of Strafford, Lord Ossory and his brother, Sir John Southcott, Sir Edward Stawell, two of my Lord Spencer's sons, and Dr. Stewart,<sup>3</sup> Dean of St. Paul's, a learned and pious man, where we entertained the time upon several subjects, especially the affairs of England, and the lamentable condition of our

<sup>1</sup> This was William, *d.* 1695, the eldest son of the Earl who was executed; but he was not restored to his father's titles till the Restoration.

<sup>2</sup> [See *post*, under 8th October, 1664.]

<sup>3</sup> [Died in November of this year (see *post*, under 16th November, 1651).]

Church. The Lord Gerard<sup>1</sup> also called to see my collection of sieges and battles.

*21st July.* An extraordinary fast was celebrated in our Chapel, Dr. Stewart, Dean of St. Paul's, preaching.

*2nd August.* I went with my wife to Conflans, where were abundance of ladies and others bathing in the river; the ladies had their tents spread on the water for privacy.

*29th.* Was kept a solemn fast for the calamities of our poor Church, now trampled on by the rebels. Mr. Waller, being at St. Germain, desired me to send him a coach from Paris, to bring my wife's god-daughter to Paris,<sup>2</sup> to be buried by the Common Prayer.

*6th September.* I went with my wife to St. Germain, to condole with Mr. Waller's loss. I carried with me and treated at dinner that excellent and pious person the Dean of St. Paul's, Dr. Stewart, and Sir Lewis Dyve (half-brother to the Earl of Bristol),<sup>3</sup> who entertained us with his wonderful escape out of prison in Whitehall, the very evening before he was to have been put to

<sup>1</sup> Charles Gerard, *d.* 1694, created Baron Gerard, of Brandon, in 1645, for his services to Charles I. By Charles II. he was raised to the dignity of Viscount Brandon, and Earl of Macclesfield, in 1679.

<sup>2</sup> [See *ante*, p. 31.]

<sup>3</sup> [Sir Lewis Dyve, 1599-1669. His mother's second husband was Sir John Digby, afterwards Earl of Bristol. As a royalist Sir Lewis had a chequered career. In August, 1645, he was taken prisoner at the siege of Sherborne Castle by Fairfax, and sent to the Tower, where he remained for two years. From the Tower he was removed to the King's Bench, whence he made his escape 15th January, 1648, and wrote a 4to account of the manner of it. He was subsequently taken prisoner at Preston, and escaped again 30th January, 1649, as above narrated. He then served in Ireland; but of his later life little is recorded. Carlyle speaks of him as "a thrasonical person known to the readers of Evelyn" (Cromwell's *Letters and Speeches*, Letter xxx.). See also *post*, under 3rd December, 1651.]

death, leaping down out of a jakes two stories high into the Thames at high water, in the coldest of winter, and at night ; so as by swimming he got to a boat that attended for him, though he was guarded by six musketeers. After this, he went about in woman's habit, and then in a small-coal-man's, travelling 200 miles on foot, embarked for Scotland with some men he had raised, who coming on shore were all surprised and imprisoned on the Marquis of Montrose's score ; he not knowing anything of their barbarous murder of that hero. This he told us was his fifth escape, and none less miraculous ; with this note, that the charging through 1000 men armed, or whatever danger could befall a man, he believed could not more confound and distract a man's thoughts than the execution of a premeditated escape, the passions of hope and fear being so strong. This knight was indeed a valiant gentleman ; but not a little given to romance, when he spake of himself. I returned to Paris the same evening.

*7th September.* I went to visit Mr. Hobbes, the famous philosopher of Malmesbury,<sup>1</sup> with whom I had long acquaintance. From his window, we saw the whole equipage and glorious cavalcade of the young French Monarch, Louis XIV., passing to Parliament, when first he took the kingly government on him, now being in his 14th year, out of his minority and the Queen Regent's pupilage. First, came the captain of the King's Aids, at the head of 50 richly liveried ; next, the Queen-Mother's light horse, 100, the lieutenant being all over covered with embroidery and ribbons, having

<sup>1</sup> [Thomas Hobbes, the philosopher, 1588-1679. He resided at Paris from 1641 to 1652 (see *post*, under 14th December, 1655), having been, in his own words, "the first of all that fled." His *Leviathan* was printed at London in 1651, in the middle of which year it appeared (*Hobbes*, by Sir Leslie Stephen, 1904, pp. 27, 40).]

before him four trumpets habited in black velvet, full of lace, and casques of the same. Then, the King's light horse, 200, richly habited, with four trumpets in blue velvet embroidered with gold, before whom rid the Count d'Olonne, coronet [cornet], whose belt was set with pearl. Next went the grand Prévôt's company on foot, with the Prévôt on horseback ; after them, the Swiss in black velvet toques, led by two gallant cavaliers habited in scarlet-coloured satin, after their country fashion, which is very fantastic ; he had in his cap a *panache* of heron, with a band of diamonds, and about him twelve little Swiss boys, with halberds. Then, came the *Aide des Cérémonies* ; next, the grandees of court, governors of places, and lieutenants-general of Provinces, magnificently habited and mounted ; among whom I must not forget the Chevalier Paul,<sup>1</sup> famous for many sea-fights and signal exploits there, because it is said he had never been an Academist, and yet governed a very unruly horse, and besides his rich suit his Malta Cross was esteemed at 10,000 crowns. These were headed by two trumpets, and the whole troop, covered with gold, jewels, and rich caparisons, were followed by six trumpets in blue velvet also preceding as many heralds in blue velvet *semée* with fleurs-de-lis, caduces in their hands, and velvet caps on their heads ; behind them, came one of the masters of the ceremonies ; then, divers marshals

<sup>1</sup> [The Chevalier Paul de Saumur, 1597-1667, a French admiral, famous for his victories in the Mediterranean over the Spaniard and the Turk. He died *Commandant Maritime* of Toulon, where he was visited by Louis XIV. It was of him that Chapelle and Bachaumont wrote in their *Voyage en Provence* :—

*C'est os Paul dont l'expérience  
Gourmande la mer et le vent ;  
Dont le bonheur et la vaillance  
Rendent formidable la France  
À tous les peuples du Levant, etc.]*



and many of the nobility, exceeding splendid; behind them Count d'Harcourt, grand Ecuyer, alone, carrying the King's sword in a scarf, which he held up in a blue sheath studded with fleurs-de-lis; his horse had for reins two scarfs of black taffeta. Then came abundance of footmen and pages of the King, new-liveried with white and red feathers; next, the *garde du corps* and other officers; and, lastly, appeared the King himself on an Isabella barb,<sup>1</sup> on which a housing *semée* with crosses of the Order of the Holy Ghost, and fleurs-de-lis; the King himself like a young Apollo, was in a suit so covered with rich embroidery, that one could perceive nothing of the stuff under it; he went almost the whole way with his hat in hand, saluting the ladies and acclamators, who had filled the windows with their beauty, and the air with *Vive le Roi*. He seemed a prince of a grave yet sweet countenance. After the King, followed divers great persons of the Court, exceeding splendid, also his esquires; masters of horse, on foot; then the company of *Exempts des Gardes*, and six guards of Scotch. Betwixt their files were divers princes of the blood, dukes, and lords; after all these, the Queen's guard of Swiss, pages, and footmen; then, the Queen-Mother herself, in a rich coach, with Monsieur, the King's brother, the Duke of Orleans, and some other lords and ladies

<sup>1</sup> [*I.e.* between white and yellow in colour. "Isabella, daughter of Philip II., and wife of the Archduke Albert [see *ante*, vol. i. p. 54], vowed not to change her linen till Ostend was taken; this siege, unluckily for her comfort, lasted three years [1601-4]; and the supposed colour of the archduchess's linen gave rise to a fashionable colour, hence called *L'Isabeau*, or the Isabella" (Disraeli's *Curiosities of Literature*, 1824, i. 381). "*Rien*," adds Litttré, who repeats the story in his *Dictionary*, "*ne garantit cette historiette*." Curtains of "Isabella and white sarsnet" are mentioned in the inventory of Ham House (see *post*, 27th August, 1678); and there is a pale Himalayan bear, known from its hue as the "Isabelline bear."]

of honour. About the coach, marched her *Exempts des Gardes*; then, the company of the King's *Gens d'armes*, well mounted, 150, with four trumpets, and as many of the Queen's; lastly, an innumerable company of coaches full of ladies and gallants. In this equipage, passed the monarch to the Parliament, henceforth exercising his kingly government.

7th September [?]. I accompanied Sir Richard Browne, my father-in-law, to the French Court, when he had a favourable audience of the French King, and the Queen, his mother; congratulating the one on his coming to the exercise of his royal charge, and the other's prudent and happy administration during her late regency, desiring both to preserve the same amity for his master, our King, as they had hitherto done, which they both promised, with many civil expressions and words of course upon such occasions. We were accompanied both going and returning by the Introducer of Ambassadors and Aid of Ceremonies. I also saw the audience of Morosini, the Ambassador of Venice, and divers other Ministers of State from German Princes, Savoy, etc. Afterwards, I took a walk in the King's gardens, where I observed that the mall goes the whole square there of next the wall, and bends with an angle so made as to glance the wall; the angle is of stone. There is a basin at the end of the garden fed by a noble fountain and high jetto. There were in it two or three boats, in which the King now and then rows about. In another part is a complete fort, made with bastions, graft, half-moons, ravelins, and furnished with great guns cast on purpose to instruct the King in fortification.

22nd. Arrived the news of the fatal battle at Worcester,<sup>1</sup> which exceedingly mortified our expectations.

<sup>1</sup> [3rd September.]





Engraving by M. de la Haye

*King Louis XIV*  
*By R. Vantecit*

28th September. I was showed a collection of books and prints made for the Duke of York.

1st October. The Dean of Peterborough<sup>1</sup> preached on Job xiii. verse 15, encouraging our trust in God on all events and extremities, and for establishing and comforting some ladies of great quality, who were then to be discharged from our Queen-Mother's service, unless they would go over to the Romish Mass.

The Dean, dining this day at our house, told me the occasion of publishing those Offices, which among the puritans were wont to be called *Cosin's morning Devotions*, by way of derision.<sup>2</sup> At the first coming of the Queen into England, she and the French ladies were often upbraiding our religion, that had neither appointed nor set forth any hours of prayer, or breviaries, by which ladies and courtiers, who have much spare time, might edify and be in devotion, as they had. Our Protestant ladies, scandalised it seems at this, moved the matter to the King: whereupon his Majesty presently called Bishop White to him, and asked his thoughts of it, and whether there might not be found some forms of prayer proper on such occasions, collected out of some already approved forms, that the court-ladies and others (who spend much time in trifling) might at least appear as devout, and be so too, as the new-come-over French ladies, who took occasion to reproach our want of zeal in religion. On which, the Bishop told his Majesty that it might be done easily, and was very

[See *ante*, p. 25.]

<sup>2</sup> [The *Collection of Private Devotions*, 1637.]  
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<sup>1</sup> [See *ante*, p. 25.]

<sup>2</sup> [The *Collection of Private Devotions*, 1627, was compiled, as hereafter explained, by request of Charles I. It was Prynne who, in his "brief survey" of the book, gave them the above nickname. Dr. Cosin is frequently mentioned both in the *Diary* and *Letters* of Evelyn, and had a very good library, for the purchase of which Evelyn was at one time in treaty (see *post*, under 15th April, 1652).]

necessary; whereupon the King commanded him to employ some person of the clergy to compile such a Work, and presently the Bishop naming Dr. Cosin, the King enjoined him to charge the Doctor in his name to set about it immediately. This the Dean told me he did; and three months after, bringing the book to the King, he commanded the Bishop of London to read it over, and make his report; this was so well liked, that (contrary to former custom of doing it by a chaplain) he would needs give it an *imprimatur* under his own hand. Upon this, there were at first only 200 copies printed; nor, said he, was there anything in the whole book of my own composure, nor did I set any name as author to it, but those necessary prefaces, etc., out of the Fathers, touching the times and seasons of prayer; all the rest being entirely translated and collected out of an *Office* published by authority of Queen Elizabeth, anno 1560, and our own Liturgy. This I rather mention to justify that industrious and pious Dean, who had exceedingly suffered by it, as if he had done it of his own head to introduce Popery, from which no man was more averse, and one who in this time of temptation and apostasy held and confirmed many to our Church.<sup>1</sup>

*29th October.* Came news and letters to the Queen and Sir Richard Browne (who was the first that had intelligence of it) of his Majesty's miraculous escape after the fight at Worcester; which exceedingly rejoiced us.

<sup>1</sup> The Clergy who attended the English Court in France at this time, and are mentioned to have officiated in Sir Richard Browne's Chapel, were: The Bishop of Galloway (p. 25); Dr. George Morley (p. 19); Dr. Cosin, Dean of Peterborough, afterwards Bishop of Durham (p. 25); Dr. Stewart (p. 38); Dr. Earle (p. 2); Dr. Clare (see above); Dr. Wolley, no great preacher (p. 48); Mr. Crowder; Dr. William Lloyd, Bishop of Llandaff; Mr. Hamilton; Dr. Duncan (p. 32).



*7th November.* I visited Sir Kenelm Digby,<sup>1</sup> with whom I had much discourse on chemical matters. I showed him a particular way of extracting oil of sulphur, and he gave me a certain powder with which he affirmed that he had fixed ☿ (mercury) before the late King. He advised me to try and digest a little better, and gave me a water which he said was only rain-water of the autumnal equinox, exceedingly rectified, very volatile; it had a taste of a strong vitriolic, and smelt like aqua-fortis. He intended it for a dissolvent of calx of gold; but the truth is, Sir Kenelm was an arrant mountebank.<sup>2</sup> Came news of the gallant Earl of Derby's execution by the rebels.<sup>3</sup>

*14th.* Dr. Clare preached on Genesis xxviii. verses 20, 21, 22, upon Jacob's vow, which he

<sup>1</sup> [See *ante*, vol. i. p. 46. He (Digby), says his biographer, was at this date, "nominally, if not actually, Chancellor to Queen Henrietta Maria."]

<sup>2</sup> [He seems, at any rate, to have been as much "given to romance" as his kinsman, Sir Lewis Dyve: witness the following from Lady Anne Fanshawe's *Memoirs*, 1829, pp. 72-73:—"When we came to Calais, we met the Earl of Strafford and Sir Kenelm Digby, with some others of our countrymen. We were all feasted at the Governor's of the castle, and much excellent discourse passed; but, as was reason, most share was Sir Kenelm Digby's, who had enlarged somewhat more in extraordinary stories than might be averred, and all of them passed with great applause and wonder of the French then at table; but the concluding one was, that barnacles, a bird in Jersey, was first a shell-fish to appearance, and from that, sticking upon old wood, became in time a bird. After some consideration, they unanimously burst out into laughter, believing it altogether false; and, to say the truth, it was the only thing true he had discoursed with them; that was his infirmity, though otherwise a person of most excellent parts, and a very fine-bred gentleman." (Unfortunately, the barnacle story also is a "vulgar error.".)]

<sup>3</sup> [James Stanley, seventh Earl of Derby, 1607-51, was taken prisoner after the battle of Worcester, and beheaded at Bolton, 15th October, dying, says Whitelocke, "with stoutness and Christian-like temper."]

appositely applied, it being the first Sunday his Majesty came to chapel after his escape. I went, in the afternoon, to visit the Earl of Norwich;<sup>1</sup> he lay at the Lord of Aubigny's.<sup>2</sup>

16th November. Visited Dean Stewart,<sup>3</sup> who had been sick about two days; when, going up to his lodging I found him dead; which affected me much, as besides his particular affection and love to me, he was of incomparable parts and great learning, of exemplary life, and a very great loss to the whole church. He was buried the next day with all our church's ceremonies, many noble persons accompanying the corpse.

17th. I went to congratulate the marriage of Mrs. Gardner, maid of honour, lately married to that odd person, Sir Henry Wood: but riches do many things.

To see Monsieur Lefevre's course of chemistry,<sup>4</sup> where I found Sir Kenelm Digby, and divers curious persons of learning and quality. It was his first opening the course and preliminaries, in order to operations.

1st December. I now resolved to return to England.

3rd. Sir Lewis Dyve<sup>5</sup> dined with us, who relating some of his adventures, showed me divers pieces of broad gold, which, being in his pocket in a fight, preserved his life by receiving a musket-bullet on them, which deadened its violence, so

<sup>1</sup> [See *ante*, vol. i. p. 30.]

<sup>2</sup> [Brother to the Duke of Lennox, and afterwards Lord Almoner to Catherine of Braganza (see also *post*, 11th January, 1662, and 9th June, 1664).]

<sup>3</sup> [See *ante*, p. 38.]

<sup>4</sup> [See *ante*, p. 1.]

<sup>5</sup> [See *ante*, p. 38. There are some very interesting *Biographical Memoirs of Sir Lewis Dyve*, by John Gough Nichols, in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for July–October, 1829. In one or two minute details, they correct Evelyn. There are also three letters to Dyve in the *Epistolæ Ho-Eliaæ*.]

that it went no farther; but made such a stroke on the gold as fixed the impressions upon one another, battering and bending several of them; the bullet itself was flatted, and retained on it the colour of the gold. He assured us that of a hundred of them, which it seems he then had in his pocket, not one escaped without some blemish. He affirmed that his being protected by a Neapolitan Prince, who connived at his bringing some horses into France, contrary to the order of the Viceroy, by assistance of some banditti, was the occasion of a difference between those great men, and consequently of the late civil war in that kingdom, the Viceroy having killed the Prince standing on his defence at his own castle. He told me that the second time of the Scots coming into England, the King was six times their number, and might easily have beaten them; but was betrayed, as were all other his designs and counsels, by some, even of his bedchamber, meaning M. Hamilton,<sup>1</sup> who copied Montrose's letters from time to time when his Majesty was asleep.

*11th December.* Came to visit me, Mr. Obadiah Walker,<sup>2</sup> of University College, with his two pupils, the sons of my worthy friend, Henry Hillyard, Esq.,<sup>3</sup> whom I had recommended to his care.

*21st.* Came to visit my wife, Mrs. Lane,<sup>4</sup> the lady who conveyed the King to the sea-side at his escape from Worcester. Mr. John Cosin, son of the Dean, debauched by the priests, wrote a letter

<sup>1</sup> [James Hamilton, third Marquis, and first Duke of Hamilton, 1606-49. See *ante*, under 5th March, 1649.]

<sup>2</sup> [See *ante*, p. 9.]

<sup>3</sup> Of East Horsley in Surrey.

<sup>4</sup> Jane Lane, afterwards Lady Fisher, *d.* 1689, sister of Colonel Lane, an English officer in the army of Charles II. dispersed at the battle of Worcester. She assisted the King in effecting his escape after that battle, his Majesty travelling with her disguised as her serving-man, William Jackson.

to me to mediate for him with his father.<sup>1</sup> I prepared for my last journey, being now resolved to leave France altogether.

25th December. The King and Duke received the Sacrament first by themselves, the Lords Byron and Wilmot holding the long towel all along the altar.

26th. Came news of the death of that rebel, Ireton.<sup>2</sup>

31st. Preached Dr. Wolley,<sup>3</sup> after which was celebrated the Holy Communion, which I received also, preparative of my journey, being now resolved to leave France altogether, and to return God Almighty thanks for His gracious protection of me this past year.

1651-2: 2nd January. News of my sister Glanville's death in childbed, which exceedingly affected me.<sup>4</sup>

I went to one Mark Antonio, an incomparable artist in enamelling. He wrought by the lamp figures in boss, of a large size, even to the life, so that nothing could be better moulded. He told us stories of a Genoese jeweller, who had the great *arcanum*, and had made projection before him several times. He met him at Cyprus travelling into Egypt; in his return from whence, he died at sea, and the secret with him, that else he had promised to have left it to him; that all his effects were seized on, and dissipated by the Greeks in the vessel, to an immense value. He also affirmed, that being in a goldsmith's shop at Amsterdam, a person of very low stature came in, and desired the goldsmith to melt him a pound of lead; which done,

<sup>1</sup> See *post*, under 13th April, 1652.

<sup>2</sup> [Henry Ireton, 1611-51, died of the plague, 15th November, 1651, after the capture of Limerick (see *post*, under 6th March, 1652).]

<sup>3</sup> [See *ante*, p. 44 n.]

<sup>4</sup> [Jane Evelyn (see *ante*, p. 4).]

he unscrewed the pommel of his sword, and taking out of a little box a small quantity of powder, casting it into the crucible, poured an ingot out, which when cold he took up, saying, "Sir, you will be paid for your lead in the crucible," and so went out immediately. When he was gone the goldsmith found four ounces of good gold in it; but could never set eye again on the little man, though he sought all the city for him. Antonio asserted this with great obstestation; nor know I what to think of it, there are so many impostors and people who love to tell strange stories, as this artist did, who had been a great rover, and spoke ten different languages.

*13th January.* I took leave of Mr. Waller, who, having been proscribed by the rebels, had obtained of them permission to return, was going to England.<sup>1</sup>

*29th.* Abundance of my French and English friends and some Germans came to take leave of me, and I set out in a coach for Calais, in an exceeding hard frost which had continued some time. We got that night to Beaumont; *30th*, to Beauvais; *31st*, we found the ways very deep with snow, and it was exceeding cold; dined at Poix; lay at Pernée, a miserable cottage of miserable people in a wood, wholly unfurnished, but in a little time we had sorry beds and some provision, which they told me they hid in the wood for fear of the frontier enemy, the garrisons near them continually plundering what they had. They were often infested with wolves. I cannot remember that I ever saw more miserable creatures.

*1st February.* I dined at Abbeville; *2nd*, dined at Montreuil, lay at Boulogne; *3rd*, came to Calais, by eleven in the morning; I thought to have embarked in the evening, but, for fear of pirates

<sup>1</sup> [He had been pardoned (November, 1651) by Cromwell's influence.]

plying near the coast, I durst not trust our small vessel, and stayed till Monday following, when two or three lusty vessels were to depart.

I brought with me from Paris Mr. Christopher Wase, sometime before made to resign his Fellowship in King's College, Cambridge, because he would not take the Covenant. He had been a soldier in Flanders, and came miserable to Paris. From his excellent learning, and some relation he had to Sir R. Browne, I bore his charges into England, and clad and provided for him, till he should find some better condition; and he was worthy of it.<sup>1</sup> There came with us also Captain Griffith,<sup>2</sup> Mr. Tyrell, brother to Sir Timothy Tyrell, of Shotover (near Oxford).<sup>3</sup>

At Calais, I dined with my Lord Wentworth,<sup>4</sup> and met with Mr. Heath,<sup>5</sup> Sir Richard Lloyd,<sup>6</sup> Captain Paine, and divers of our banished friends, of whom understanding that the Count d'Estrades, Governor of Dunkirk, was in the town, who had bought my wife's picture, taken by pirates at sea the year before (my wife having sent it for me in England), as my Lord of Norwich had informed me at Paris, I made my address to him, who frankly told me that he had such a picture in his own bed-chamber amongst other ladies, and how he came by it; seeming well pleased that it was his fortune to preserve it for me, and he generously promised to send it to any friend I had at Dover; I mentioned a French merchant there, and so took my leave.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Evelyn afterwards obtained an employment for him (see *post*, under 30th May, 1652). He was later headmaster of Dedham and Tunbridge Schools, and, during 1671-90, superior of the University Press at Oxford. He died in 1690.

<sup>2</sup> [Perhaps the Prince Griffith of Vambre (see *ante*, p. 24).]

<sup>3</sup> [See *post*, under 24th October, 1664.]

<sup>4</sup> [See *ante*, p. 17.]

<sup>5</sup> [See *post*, under 14th August, 1654.]

<sup>6</sup> [See *ante*, p. 15.]

<sup>7</sup> The picture was sent accordingly (see *post*, under 15th April, 1652).

*6th February.* I embarked early in the packet-boat, but put my goods in a stouter vessel. It was calm, so that we got not to Dover till eight at night. I took horse for Canterbury, and lay at Rochester; next day, to Gravesend, took a pair of oars, and landed at Sayes Court, where I stayed three days to refresh, and look after my packet and goods, sent by a stouter vessel. I went to visit my cousin, Richard Fanshawe,<sup>1</sup> and divers other friends.

*6th March.* Saw the magnificent funeral of that arch-rebel, Ireton, carried in pomp from Somerset House to Westminster, accompanied with divers regiments of soldiers, horse and foot; then marched the mourners, General Cromwell (his father-in-law),<sup>2</sup> his mock-parliament-men, officers, and forty poor men in gowns, three led horses in housings of black cloth, two led in black velvet, and his charging-horse, all covered over with embroidery and gold, on crimson velvet; then the guidons, ensigns, four heralds, carrying the arms of the State (as they called it), namely, the red cross of Ireland, with the casque, wreath, sword, spurs, etc.; next, a chariot canopied of black velvet and six horses, in which was the corpse; the pall held up by the mourners on foot; the mace and sword, with other marks of his charge in Ireland (where he died of the plague), carried before in black scarfs. Thus, in a grave pace, drums covered with cloth, soldiers reversing their arms, they proceeded through the streets in a very solemn manner. This Ireton was a stout rebel, and had been very bloody to the King's party, witness his severity at Colchester,

<sup>1</sup> [Sir Richard Fanshawe, 1608-66, afterwards the translator of the *Lusiad* of Camoens. He had been taken prisoner at Worcester (see *post*, under 23rd April, 1661, and 5th August, 1662).]

<sup>2</sup> [Ireton had married Cromwell's eldest daughter Bridget, 15th June, 1646. She subsequently became the second wife of Fleetwood.]

when in cold blood he put to death those gallant gentlemen, Sir Charles Lucas and Sir George Lisle.<sup>1</sup> My cousin, R. Fanshawe,<sup>2</sup> came to visit me, and inform me of many considerable affairs. Sir Henry Herbert<sup>3</sup> presented me with his brother my Lord Cherbury's book, *De Veritate*.<sup>4</sup>

*9th March.* I went to Deptford, where I made preparation for my settlement, no more intending to go out of England, but endeavour a settled life, either in this or some other place, there being now so little appearance of any change for the better, all being entirely in the rebels' hands; and this particular habitation and the estate contiguous to it (belonging to my father-in-law, actually in his Majesty's service) very much suffering for want of some friend to rescue it out of the power of the usurpers, so as to preserve our interest, and take some care of my other concerns, by the advice and endeavour of my friends I was advised to reside in it, and compound with the soldiers. This I was besides authorised by his Majesty to do, and encouraged with a promise that what was in lease from the Crown, if ever it pleased God to restore him, he would secure to us in fee-farm. I had also addresses and cyphers, to correspond with his Majesty and Ministers abroad: upon all which inducements, I was persuaded to settle henceforth in England, having now run about the world, most part out of my own country, near ten years. I

<sup>1</sup> [Sir George Lisle and Sir Charles Lucas were shot by Ireton (27th August, 1648) in virtue of the Parliamentary Ordinance of 8th December, 1646 (see *post*, under 8th July, 1656).]

<sup>2</sup> [See *ante*, p. 51.]

<sup>3</sup> [Sir Henry Herbert, 1595-1673. He was Master of the Revels under Charles I. and Charles II. (see *post*, under 8th February, 1665).]

<sup>4</sup> [First published at Paris in 1624; at London in 1645. It is said to be the earliest purely metaphysical work by an Englishman.]



therefore now likewise meditated sending over for my wife, whom as yet I had left at Paris.

14th March. I went to Lewisham, where I heard an honest sermon on 1 Cor. ii. 5-7, being the first Sunday I had been at church since my return, it being now a rare thing to find a priest of the Church of England in a parish pulpit, most of which were filled with Independents and Fanatics.<sup>1</sup>

15th. I saw the *Diamond* and *Ruby* launched in the Dock at Deptford, carrying forty-eight brass cannon each; Cromwell and his grandees present, with great acclamations.

18th. That worthy divine, Mr. Owen, of Eltham,<sup>2</sup> a sequestered person, came to visit me.

19th. Invited by Lady Gerrard,<sup>3</sup> I went to London, where we had a great supper; all the vessels, which were innumerable, were of porcelain, she having the most ample and richest collection of that curiosity in England.

22nd. I went with my brother Evelyn to

<sup>1</sup> [See *ante*, p. 10. In *A Character of England*, Evelyn enlarges upon this theme:—"I had sometimes the curiosity to visit the several worships of these equivocal Christians and enthusiasts. . . . Form, they observe none. They pray and read without method, and indeed, without reverence or devotion. I have beheld a whole congregation sit with their hats on, at the reading of the Psalms, and yet bare-headed when they sing them. In divers places they read not the Scriptures at all; but up into the pulpit, where they make an insipid, tedious, and immethodical prayer, in phrases and a tone so affected and mysterious, that they give it the name of canting, a term by which they do usually express the gibberish of beggars and vagabonds; after which, there follows the sermon (which, for the most part, they read out of a book), consisting (like their prayers) of speculative and abstracted notions and things, which, nor the people nor themselves well understand: but these they extend to an extraordinary length and Pharisaical repetitions. . . . The Minister uses no habit of distinction, or gravity, but steps up *in querpo* [in ordinary costume]; and when he laies by his cloak (as I have observed some of them) he has the action rather of a preacher than a divine" (*Miscellaneous Writings*, 1825, pp. 152-53).]

<sup>2</sup> [See *ante*, p. 10.]

<sup>3</sup> [See *ante*, p. 6.]

Wotton, to give him what directions I was able about his garden, which he was now desirous to put into some form; but for which he was to remove a mountain overgrown with huge trees and thicket, with a moat within ten yards of the house. This my brother immediately attempted, and that without great cost, for more than a hundred yards south, by digging down the mountain, and flinging it into a rapid stream; it not only carried away the sand, etc., but filled up the moat, and levelled that noble area, where now the garden and fountain is.<sup>1</sup> The first occasion of my brother making this alteration was my building the little retiring-place between the great wood eastward next the meadow, where, some time after my father's death, I made a triangular pond, or little stew, with an artificial rock, after my coming out of Flanders.

*29th March.* I heard that excellent prelate, the primate of Ireland (Jacobus Ussher)<sup>2</sup> preach in Lincoln's Inn, on Heb. iv. 16, encouraging of penitent sinners.

*5th April.* My brother George brought to Sayes Court Cromwell's Act of Oblivion to all that would submit to the Government.<sup>3</sup>

*18th.* News was brought me that Lady Cotton, my brother George's wife, was delivered of a son.<sup>4</sup>

I was moved by a letter out of France to publish the letter which some time since I sent to Dean Cosin's proselyted son; but I did not conceive it convenient, for fear of displeasing her Majesty, the Queen.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The fountain still remains.

<sup>2</sup> [James Ussher, 1581-1656, Archbishop of Armagh from 1625.]

<sup>3</sup> [The Act of Amnesty, 24th February, which pardoned all State offences previous to the Battle of Worcester, with some exceptions.]

<sup>4</sup> [Evelyn's pedigree gives no account of this son.]

<sup>5</sup> [From a letter written by Dean Cosin to Evelyn from Paris,

15th April. I wrote to the Dean, touching my buying his library, which was one of the choicest collections of any private person in England.<sup>1</sup>

The Count d'Estrades most generously and handsomely sent me the picture of my wife from Dunkirk,<sup>2</sup> in a large tin case, without any charge. It is of Mr. Bourdon, and is that which has the dog in it, and is to the knees, but it has been something spoiled by washing it ignorantly with soap-suds.

25th. I went to visit Alderman Kendrick, a fanatic Lord Mayor, who had married a relation of ours, where I met with a Captain who had been thirteen times to the East Indies.

29th. Was that celebrated eclipse of the sun, so much threatened by the astrologers, and which had so exceedingly alarmed the whole nation that hardly any one would work, nor stir out of their houses. So ridiculously were they abused by knavish and ignorant star-gazers!

We went this afternoon to see the Queen's house at Greenwich,<sup>3</sup> now given by the rebels to Bulstrode Whitelocke,<sup>4</sup> one of their unhappy counsellors, and keeper of pretended liberties.

10th May. Passing by Smithfield, I saw a miserable creature burning, who had murdered her

3rd April, 1652, it would seem that Prince Charles himself discouraged the publication, as the Queen (Henrietta Maria) "had been pleased to interest herself in the matter" of the conversion.]

<sup>1</sup> [See *ante*, p. 43 n. The above letter refers also to this subject.]

<sup>2</sup> See *ante*, p. 50 n.

<sup>3</sup> [Greenwich Palace, which had been greatly improved by Henrietta Maria.]

<sup>4</sup> [Bulstrode Whitelocke, 1605-75. He is described by Mr. G. W. Trevelyan as "a Puritan lawyer and constitutionalist, very much at sea under Cromwell, and trying to serve his country in strange times." His *Memorials of English Affairs*, 1625-60, published 1682, constitute a valuable contemporary record. In 1653-54 he was ambassador to Sweden.]

husband. I went to see some workmanship of that admirable artist, Reeves, famous for perspective, and turning curiosities in ivory.

29th May. I went to give order about a coach to be made against my wife's coming, being my first coach, the pattern whereof I brought out of Paris.

30th. I went to obtain of my Lord Devonshire<sup>1</sup> that my nephew, George,<sup>2</sup> might be brought up with my young Lord, his son, to whom I was recommending Mr. Wase.<sup>3</sup> I also inspected the manner of camletting silk and grograms at one Monsieur La Dorée's in Moorfields, and thence to Colonel Morley,<sup>4</sup> one of their Council of State, as then called, who had been my schoolfellow, to request a pass for my wife's safe landing, and the goods she was to bring with her out of France; which he courteously granted, and did me many other kindnesses, that was a great matter in those days.

In the afternoon, at Charlton church, where I heard a Rabbinical sermon. Here is a fair monument in black marble of Sir Adam Newton,<sup>5</sup> who built that fair house near it for Prince Henry, and where my noble friend, Sir Henry Newton, succeeded him.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> William Cavendish, third Earl of Devonshire, 1617-84. "My young Lord," with whom Evelyn desired that his nephew George might "be brought up," was the Earl's only son, William, 1640-1707, created 1694 Marquis of Hartington, and Duke of Devonshire.

<sup>2</sup> [George Evelyn (*d.* 1676) was the eldest son of Evelyn's elder brother by his first wife, Mary Caldwell, *d.* 1644.]

<sup>3</sup> [See *ante*, p. 50.]

<sup>4</sup> [Colonel Herbert Morley, 1616-67, a Parliamentary officer. He had been Evelyn's schoolmate at Lewes.]

<sup>5</sup> Adam Newton (*d.* 1630) was tutor and afterwards secretary to Henry, Prince of Wales, eldest son of James I., who, in 1620, created him a baronet. [Charlton Church, Kent (St. Luke's), was erected by his trustees. His monument in the N. aisle of the chancel is by Nicholas Stone.]

<sup>6</sup> [Sir Henry Newton, afterwards Puckering, 1618-1701, was

*3rd June.* I received a letter from Colonel Morley to the Magistrates and Searchers at Rye, to assist my wife at her landing, and show her all civility.

*4th.* I set out to meet her now on her journey from Paris, after she had obtained leave to come out of that city, which had now been besieged some time by the Prince of Condé's army in the time of the rebellion, and after she had been now near twelve years from her own country, that is, since five years of age,<sup>1</sup> at which time she went over. I went to Rye to meet her, where was an embargo on occasion of the late conflict with the Holland fleet, the two nations being now in war, and which made sailing very unsafe.

On Whit Sunday, I went to the church (which is a very fair one), and heard one of the canters,<sup>2</sup> who dismissed the assembly rudely, and without any blessing. Here I stayed till the 10th with no small impatience, when I walked over to survey the ruins of Winchelsea, that ancient cinq-port, which by the remains and ruins of ancient streets and public structures, discovers it to have been formerly a considerable and large city.<sup>3</sup> There are to be seen vast caves and vaults, walls and towers, ruins of monasteries and of a sumptuous church, in which are some handsome monuments, especially of the Templars, buried just in the manner of those in the Temple at London. This place being now all in rubbish, and a few despicable hovels

Sir Adam's only son. Charlton House, said to have been built by Inigo Jones, is south of St. Luke's Church (see *post*, under 9th June, 1653).]

<sup>1</sup> [See *ante*, p. 2.]

<sup>2</sup> [See *ante*, p. 53 n.]

<sup>3</sup> ["That poor skeleton of ancient Winchelsea," John Wesley calls it. Under a large ash tree by the side of its ruined church of St. Thomas, on the 7th October, 1790, he preached his last outdoor sermon (*Journal*, 1901, iv. 475).]

and cottages only standing, hath yet a Mayor.<sup>1</sup> The sea, which formerly rendered it a rich and commodious port, has now forsaken it.

*11th June.* About four in the afternoon, being at bowls on the green, we discovered a vessel which proved to be that in which my wife was, and which got into the harbour about eight that evening, to my no small joy. They had been three days at sea, and escaped the Dutch fleet, through which they passed, taken for fishers, which was great good fortune, there being seventeen bales of furniture and other rich plunder, which I bless God came all safe to land, together with my wife, and my Lady Browne, her mother, who accompanied her. My wife being discomposed by having been so long at sea, we set not forth towards home till the 14th, when hearing the small-pox was very rife in and about London, and Lady Browne having a desire to drink Tunbridge waters, I carried them thither, and stayed in a very sweet place, private and refreshing, and took the waters myself till the 23rd, when I went to prepare for their reception, leaving them for the present in their little cottage by the Wells.

The weather being hot, and having sent my man on before, I rode negligently under favour of the shade, till, within three miles of Bromley, at a place called the Procession Oak, two cut-throats started out, and striking with long staves at the horse, and taking hold of the reins, threw me down, took my sword, and haled me into a deep thicket, some quarter of a mile from the highway, where they might securely rob me, as they soon did. What they got of money, was not considerable, but they took two rings, the one an emerald

<sup>1</sup> [Which functionary, according to Murray's *Suffolk*, 1893, p. 20, has, nevertheless, one of the oldest (Tudor) civic maces in existence.]





*Mary Goetlyn  
after Vanteuil*

•



with diamonds, the other an onyx,<sup>1</sup> and a pair of buckles set with rubies and diamonds, which were of value, and after all bound my hands behind me, and my feet, having before pulled off my boots; they then set me up against an oak, with most bloody threats to cut my throat if I offered to cry out, or make any noise; for they should be within hearing, I not being the person they looked for. I told them that if they had not basely surprised me they should not have had so easy a prize, and that it would teach me never to ride near a hedge, since, had I been in the mid-way, they durst not have adventured on me; at which they cocked their pistols, and told me they had long guns, too, and were fourteen companions. I begged for my onyx, and told them it being engraved with my arms would betray them; but nothing prevailed. My horse's bridle they slipped, and searched the saddle, which they pulled off, but let the horse graze, and then turning again bridled him and tied him to a tree, yet so as he might graze, and thus left me bound. My horse was perhaps not taken, because he was marked and cropped on both ears, and well known on that road. Left in this manner, grievously was I tormented with flies, ants, and the sun, nor was my anxiety little how I should get loose in that solitary place, where I could neither hear nor see any creature but my poor horse and a few sheep straggling in the copse.

After near two hours' attempting, I got my hands to turn palm to palm, having been tied back to back, and then it was long before I could slip the cord over my wrists to my thumb, which at last I did, and then soon unbound my feet, and saddling my horse and roaming a while about, I at

<sup>1</sup> [This seal, described in Evelyn's will as his "fine Onix Seale, set in Gold in fleur work, with my Cyfer and Armes inamell'd," is figured at p. 31, vol. v., of Brayley's *Surrey*, 1850.]

last perceived dust to rise, and soon after heard the rattling of a cart, towards which I made, and, by the help of two countrymen, I got back into the highway. I rode to Colonel Blount's, a great justiciary of the times, who sent out hue and cry immediately. The next morning, sore as my wrists and arms were, I went to London, and got 500 tickets printed and dispersed by an officer of Goldsmiths' Hall, and within two days had tidings of all I had lost, except my sword, which had a silver hilt, and some trifles. The rogues had pawned one of my rings for a trifle to a goldsmith's servant, before the tickets came to the shop, by which means they escaped; the other ring was bought by a victualler, who brought it to a goldsmith, but he having seen the ticket seized the man. I afterwards discharged him on his protestation of innocence. Thus did God deliver me from these villains, and not only so, but restored what they took, as twice before he had graciously done, both at sea and land; I mean when I had been robbed by pirates, and was in danger of a considerable loss at Amsterdam; for which, and many, many signal preservations, I am extremely obliged to give thanks to God my Saviour.

*25th June.* After a drought of near four months, there fell so violent a tempest of hail, rain, wind, thunder, and lightning, as no man had seen the like in his age; the hail being in some places four or five inches about, brake all glass about London, especially at Deptford, and more at Greenwich.

*29th.* I returned to Tunbridge, and again drank the water, till 10th July.

We went to see the house of my Lord Clanricarde<sup>1</sup> at Summer-hill, near Tunbridge

<sup>1</sup> [Ulick de Burgh, fifth Earl and Marquis of Clanricarde, 1604-57.]

(now given to that villain, Bradshaw, who condemned the King). 'Tis situated on an eminent hill, with a park; but has nothing else extraordinary.

*4th July.* I heard a sermon at Mr. Packer's chapel at Groombridge,<sup>1</sup> a pretty melancholy seat, well wooded and watered. In this house was one of the French Kings<sup>2</sup> kept prisoner. The chapel was built by Mr. Packer's father, in remembrance of King Charles the First's safe return out of Spain.<sup>3</sup>

*9th.* We went to see Penshurst, the Earl of Leicester's, famous once for its gardens and excellent fruit, and for the noble conversation which was wont to meet there, celebrated by that illustrious person, Sir Philip Sidney, who there composed divers of his pieces. It stands in a park, is finely watered, and was now full of company, on the marriage of my old fellow collegiate, Mr. Robert Smythe, who married my Lady Dorothy Sidney,<sup>4</sup> widow of the Earl of Sunderland.

One of the men who robbed me was taken; I was accordingly summoned to appear against him; and, on the 12th, was in Westminster Hall, but not being bound over, nor willing to hang the

<sup>1</sup> In the parish of Speldhurst, in Kent, four miles from Tunbridge Wells. John Packer, 1570?-1649, was Clerk of the Privy Seal to Charles I.

<sup>2</sup> The Duke of Orleans, taken at the battle of Agincourt, 4 Hen. V., by Richard Waller, then owner of this place. See Hasted's *Kent*, vol. i. p. 431.

<sup>3</sup> With this inscription (according to Hasted, i. p. 432) over the door, "D.O.M. 1625, ob felicissimi Caroli Principis Ex Hispaniâ reducis Sacellum hoc D.D.I.P."; and above it the device of the Prince of Wales.

<sup>4</sup> [Dorothy Spencer, Countess of Sunderland, 1617-1684, Waller's "Sacharissa," and daughter of Philip Sidney, Earl of Leicester. After her first husband's death, she married, 8th July, 1652, Mr. (afterwards Sir Robert) Smythe of Sutton-at-Hone and Boundes in Kent, an old admirer, and (according to Dorothy Osborne) "a very fine gentleman."]

fellow, I did not appear, coming only to save a friend's bail; but the bill being found, he was turned over to the Old Bailey. In the meantime, I received a petition from the prisoner, whose father I understood was an honest old farmer in Kent. He was charged with other crimes, and condemned, but reprieved. I heard afterwards that, had it not been for his companion, a younger man, he would probably have killed me. He was afterwards charged with some other crime, but, refusing to plead, was pressed to death.

*28rd July.* Came my old friend, Mr. Spencer,<sup>1</sup> to visit me.

*30th.* I took advice about purchasing Sir Richard's [Browne] interest of those who had bought Sayes Court.

*1st August.* Came old Jerome Lanieri,<sup>2</sup> of Greenwich, a man skilled in painting and music, and another rare musician, called Mell.<sup>3</sup> I went to see his collection of pictures, especially those of Julio Romano, which surely had been the King's, and an Egyptian figure, etc. There were also excellent things of Polydore, Guido, Raphael, and Tintoretto. Lanieri had been a domestic of Queen Elizabeth, and showed me her head, an intaglio in a rare sardonyx, cut by a famous Italian, which he assured me was exceeding like her.

*24th.* My first child, a son, was born precisely at one o'clock.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> [Brother to the Earl of Sunderland (see *post*, under 15th July, 1669).]

<sup>2</sup> [Jerome Lanier or Lanieri, an Italian, artist and musician. He belonged to Queen Elizabeth's band; and was the father of Nicholas Lanieri, the portrait painter, 1588-1666.]

<sup>3</sup> [Davis or Davie Mell, the violinist and clockmaker, *fl.* 1650, afterwards leader of Charles II.'s band (see *post*, under 4th March, 1656).]

<sup>4</sup> [Richard Evelyn, *d.* 1658 (see *post*, under 27th January, 1658).]

2nd September. Mr. Owen, the sequestered divine, of Eltham, christened my son by the name of Richard.

25th. I went to see Dr. Mason's house, so famous for the prospect (for the house is a wretched one) and description of Barclay's *Icon Animarum*.<sup>1</sup>

22nd [October?]. I went to Woodcote,<sup>2</sup> where Lady Browne was taken with a scarlet fever, and died. She was carried to Deptford, and interred in the church<sup>3</sup> near Sir Richard's relations with all decent ceremonies, and according to the church-office, for which I obtained permission, after it had not been used in that church for seven years. Thus ended an excellent and virtuous lady, universally lamented, having been so obliging on all occasions to those who continually frequented her house in Paris, which was not only an hospital, but an asylum to all our persecuted and afflicted countrymen, during eleven years' residence there in that honourable situation.

5th November. To London, to visit some friends, but the insolences were so great in the streets that I could not return till the next day.

Dr. Scarburgh<sup>4</sup> was instant with me to give the

<sup>1</sup> The book here referred to—says Bray—is in the British Museum, entitled *Joannis Barclaii Icon Animarum*, and printed at London, 1614, small 12mo. It is written in Latin, and dedicated to Lewis XIII. of France, for what reason does not appear, the Author speaking of himself as a subject of this country. It mentions the necessity of forming the minds of youth, as a skilful gardener forms his trees; the different dispositions of men, in different nations; English, Scotch, and Irish, etc. Chapter second contains a florid description of the beautiful scenery about Greenwich, but does not mention Dr. Mason, or his house.

<sup>2</sup> [Epsom, the seat of Evelyn's brother Richard (see *ante*, p. 5).]

<sup>3</sup> [The church of St. Nicholas, Deptford. On the memorial tablet her age is given as forty-two, and the date of death, 6th October.]

<sup>4</sup> Dr. Charles Scarburgh, 1616-94, was educated at Caius College, Cambridge, where he obtained a Fellowship. He

Tables of Veins and Arteries to the College of Physicians, pretending he would not only read upon them, but celebrate my curiosity as being the first who caused them to be completed in that manner,<sup>1</sup> and with that cost; but I was not so willing yet to part with them, as to lend them to the College during their anatomical lectures; which I did accordingly.

22nd November. I went to London, where was proposed to me the promoting that great work (since accomplished by Dr. Walton, Bishop of Chester),<sup>2</sup> *Biblia Polyglotta*, by Mr. Pearson, that most learned divine.<sup>3</sup>

25th December. Christmas-day, no sermon anywhere, no church being permitted to be open, so observed it at home. The next day, we went to Lewisham, where an honest divine preached.

31st. I adjusted all accounts, and rendered thanks to Almighty God for his mercies to me the year past.

1st January, 1652-3, I set apart in preparation for the Blessed Sacrament, which the next day Mr. Owen administered to me and all my family in Sayes Court, preaching on John vi. 32, 33, showing the exceeding benefits of our Blessed Saviour taking our nature upon him. He had christened my son and churched my wife in our own house as before noticed.<sup>4</sup>

afterwards studied medicine; but making himself too conspicuous as a Royalist during the troubles, was ejected. Subsequently he practised in London as a doctor. In 1669 he was knighted and was named one of the King's physicians. He published a work upon dissection.

<sup>1</sup> [See *ante*, vol. i. p. 315.]

<sup>2</sup> [Brian Walton, 1600-61; Bishop of Chester, 1600. His *Polyglot* was published 1654-57.]

<sup>3</sup> [John Pearson, 1613-86, afterwards Bishop of Chester, 1673-86, and author of the *Exposition of the Creed*, 1659.]

<sup>4</sup> [See *ante*, p. 63.]





VIEW OF DEPTFORD DOCKYARD



17th January. I began to set out the oval garden at Sayes Court,<sup>1</sup> which was before a rude orchard, and all the rest one entire field of 100 acres, without any hedge, except the hither holly-hedge joining to the bank of the mount walk. This was the beginning of all the succeeding gardens, walks, groves, enclosures, and plantations there.

21st. I went to London, and sealed some of the writings of my purchase of Sayes Court.

30th. At our own parish-church, a stranger preached. There was now and then an honest orthodox man got into the pulpit, and, though the present incumbent was somewhat of the Independent, yet he ordinarily preached sound doctrine, and was a peaceable man; which was an extraordinary felicity in this age.

1st February. Old Alexander Ross<sup>2</sup> (author of *Virgilius Evangelizans*, and many other little books) presented me with his book against Mr. Hobbes's *Leviathan*.<sup>3</sup>

19th. I planted the orchard at Sayes Court; new moon, wind west.

22nd. Was perfected the sealing, livery and seisin of my purchase of Sayes Court. My

<sup>1</sup> [In the Commonwealth survey of June 2, 1651, Sayes Court is described thus:—"Manor house built with timber with the apptenances thereunto belonging commonly called Sayes Court, Deptford . . . consisteing of one hall, one plor, one kitchen, one buttery, one larder, w<sup>th</sup> a daryehouse, alsoe one chamber and thre cell<sup>m</sup>. In y<sup>e</sup> second storie eight chambers, with foure clossetts, and three garretts, two stables, and one other little stable joyninge to the aforesaid mano' howse, which aforesaid mano' howse together with the said garden orchard and court yards conteine together two acres, two roodes, and sixteene pches, 2a. 2r. 16p. xiiij li" (Dews' *Deptford*, 2nd ed. 1884, p. 29).]

<sup>2</sup> [See *ante*, p. 14.]

<sup>3</sup> [*A View of all Religions in the World*, etc., 1652, which went through many impressions.]

brother, George Glanville,<sup>1</sup> Mr. Scudamore, Mr. Offley,<sup>2</sup> Co. William Glanville (son to Serjeant Glanville, sometime Speaker of the House of Commons),<sup>3</sup> Co. Stephens, and several of my friends dining with me. I had bargained for £3200, but I paid £3500.<sup>4</sup>

25th March. Came to see me that rare graver in *taille-douce*, Monsieur Richett; he was sent by Cardinal Mazarin to make a collection of pictures.

11th April. I went to take the air in Hyde Park, where every coach was made to pay a shilling, and horse sixpence, by the sordid fellow who had purchased it of the State, as they were called.<sup>5</sup>

17th May. My servant Hoare,<sup>6</sup> who wrote those exquisite several hands, fell [ill] of a fit of an apoplexy, caused, as I suppose, by tampering with ☿ (mercury) about an experiment in gold.

29th. I went to London, to take my last leave of my honest friend, Mr. Barton,<sup>7</sup> now dying: it was a great loss to me and to my affairs. On the sixth of June, I attended his funeral.

8th June. Came my brother George, Captain Evelyn, the great traveller,<sup>8</sup> Mr. Muschamp, my

<sup>1</sup> [See *ante*, p. 4. He is William in the pedigree.]

<sup>2</sup> [See *ante*, p. 6.]

<sup>3</sup> [See *post*, p. 80.]

<sup>4</sup> [See *post*, under 30th May, 1663.]

<sup>5</sup> [Cf. *A Character of England*, 1659 (by Evelyn). "This Parke was (it seemes) used by the late King and Nobility for the freshness of the air, and the goodly prospect: but it is that which now (besides all other excises) they pay for here in England, though it be free in all the world beside; every coach and horse which enters buying his mouthful, and permission of the publicane who has purchased it, for which the entrance is guarded with porters and long staves" (*Miscellaneous Writings*, 1825, p. 165).]

<sup>6</sup> [See *ante*, p. 14.]

<sup>7</sup> [John Barton. He is mentioned in a letter of 25th April, 1652, from Evelyn to Sir Edward Thurland.]

<sup>8</sup> [See *ante*, p. 9.]

cousin, Thomas Keightley,<sup>1</sup> and a virtuoso, fantastical Simon,<sup>2</sup> who had the talent of embossing so to the life.

9th June. I went to visit my worthy neighbour, Sir Henry Newton [at Charlton],<sup>3</sup> and consider the prospect, which is doubtless for city, river, ships, meadows, hill, woods, and all other amenities, one of the most noble in the world; so as, had the house running water, it were a princely seat. Mr. Henshaw and his brother-in-law came to visit me, and he presented me with a seleniscope.<sup>4</sup>

19th. This day, I paid all my debts to a farthing; oh, blessed day!

21st. My Lady Gerrard, and one Esquire Knight, a very rich gentleman, living in Northamptonshire, visited me.

23rd. Mr. Lombart, a famous graver, came to see my collections.<sup>5</sup>

27th. Monsieur Roupel sent me a small phial of his *aurum potable*,<sup>6</sup> with a letter, showing the way of administering it, and the stupendous cures it had done at Paris; but, ere it came to me, by what accident I know not, it was all run out.

17th August. I went to visit Mr. Hillyard, at his house at Horsley (formerly the great Sir Walter Raleigh's),<sup>7</sup> where met me Mr. Oughtred, the

<sup>1</sup> [See *ante*, vol. i. p. 5 n.]

<sup>2</sup> Thomas Simon, 1623?-65, a strange eccentric person, but a most excellent modeller after life, and engraver of medals. [He made dies for Cromwell, and was joint chief graver to the Mint.]

<sup>3</sup> [See *ante*, p. 56.]

<sup>4</sup> [An instrument for looking at the moon.]

<sup>5</sup> [Peter Lombart, a Huguenot, long resident in England. It was Lombart who engraved Charles I. on horseback after Vandyck, then substituted Cromwell's face for Charles's, and then once more restored the face of the King.]

<sup>6</sup> [Tincture of Gold, a medicine made of the body of gold (Bailey).]

<sup>7</sup> Evelyn is here in error: Mr. Hillyard was of East Horsley, (see *ante*, p. 47), Sir Walter of West.

famous mathematician;<sup>1</sup> he showed me a box, or golden case, of divers rich and aromatic balsams, which a chemist, a scholar of his, had sent him out of Germany.

*21st August.* I heard that good old man, Mr. Higham,<sup>2</sup> the parson of the parish of Wotton where I was born, and who had baptized me, preach after his very plain way on Luke, comparing this troublesome world to the sea, the ministers to the fishermen, and the saints to the fish.

*22nd.* We all went to Guildford, to rejoice at the famous inn, the Red Lion,<sup>3</sup> and to see the Hospital, and the monument of Archbishop Abbot, the founder,<sup>4</sup> who lies buried in the chapel of his endowment.

*28th September.* At Greenwich preached that holy martyr, Dr. Hewit,<sup>5</sup> on Psalm xc. 11, magnifying the grace of God to penitents, and threatening the extinction of his Gospel light for the prodigious impiety of the age.

*11th October.* My son, John Stansfield, was born, being my second child, and christened by the name of my mother's father, that name now quite extinct, being of Cheshire. Christened by Mr. Owen, in my library at Sayes Court, where he afterwards churched my wife, I always making use of him on these occasions,<sup>6</sup> because the parish

<sup>1</sup> [William Oughtred, 1575-1660, Rector of Albury, great as a diallist and mathematician (see *post*, under 28th August, 1665). There are prints of him by Hollar.]

<sup>2</sup> [See *post*, under 11th May, 1684.]

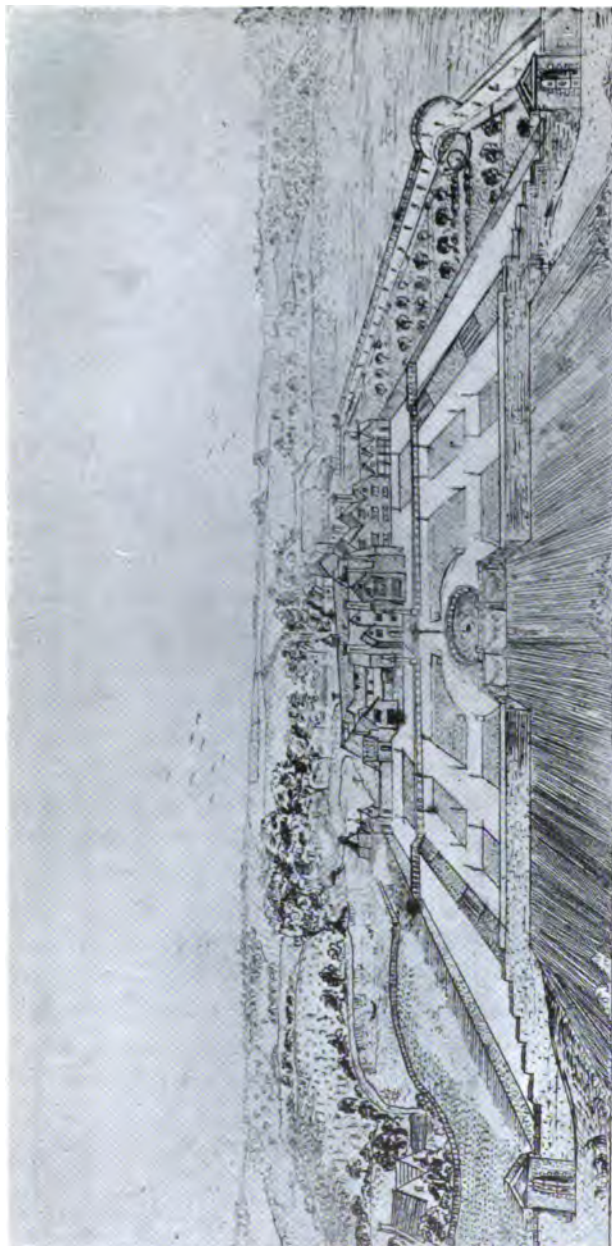
<sup>3</sup> [The Red Lion, where, according to Aubrey, they could "make fifty Beds," was a notable hostelry even in a town "always most famous for its Inns."]

<sup>4</sup> [Archbishop Abbot's Hospital is on the N. side of Guildford High Street. His monument is in the (restored) Church of the Holy Trinity just opposite.]

<sup>5</sup> [Dr. John Hewit, 1614-58, Minister of St. Gregory's, Castle Baynard Ward, afterwards executed for treason on Tower Hill.]

<sup>6</sup> [See *ante*, p. 8.]





Wotton in Surrey  
The house of Geo: Evelyn Esq:  
taken in perspective from  
the top of the Gifford by  
Geo: Evelyn 1653.

WOTTON HOUSE, SURREY, IN 1653

minister durst not have officiated according to the form and usage of the Church of England, to which I always adhered.

*25th October.* Mr. Owen preached in my library at Sayes Court on Luke xviii. 7, 8, an excellent discourse on the unjust judge, showing why Almighty God would sometimes be compared by such similitudes. He afterwards administered to us all the Holy Sacrament.

*28th.* Went to London, to visit my Lady Gerrard, where I saw that cursed woman called the Lady Norton, of whom it was reported that she spit in our King's face as he went to the scaffold. Indeed, her talk and discourse was like an impudent woman.

*21st November.* I went to London, to speak with Sir John Evelyn,<sup>1</sup> my kinsman, about the purchase of an estate of Mr. Lambard's at Westerham, which afterwards Sir John himself bought for his son-in-law, Leech.<sup>2</sup>

*4th December.* Going this day to our church, I was surprised to see a tradesman, a mechanic, step up; I was resolved yet to stay and see what he would make of it. His text was from 2 Sam. xxiii. 20: "And Benaiah went down also and slew a lion in the midst of a pit in the time of snow": the purport was, that no danger was to be thought difficult when God called for shedding of blood, inferring that now the saints were called to destroy temporal governments; with such feculent stuff; so dangerous a crisis were things grown to.

*25th.* Christmas-day. No churches, or public assembly. I was fain to pass the devotions of that blessed day with my family at home.

1658-4: *20th January.* Came to see [me] my old acquaintance and the most incomparable player

<sup>1</sup> [Of Godstone.]

<sup>2</sup> [Squerries. See *post*, under 5th August, 1658.]

on the Irish harp, Mr. Clark,<sup>1</sup> after his travels. He was an excellent musician, a discreet gentleman, born in Devonshire (as I remember). Such music before or since did I never hear, that instrument being neglected for its extraordinary difficulty; but, in my judgment, far superior to the lute itself, or whatever speaks with strings.

*25th January.* Died my son, J. Stansfield,<sup>2</sup> of convulsion-fits; buried at Deptford on the east corner of the church, near his mother's great-grandfather, and other relatives.

*8th February.* Ash-Wednesday. In contradiction to all custom and decency, the usurper, Cromwell, feasted at the Lord Mayor's, riding in triumph through the city.

*14th.* I saw a tame lion play familiarly with a lamb; he was a huge beast, and I thrust my hand into his mouth and found his tongue rough like a cat's; a sheep also with six legs, which made use of five of them to walk; a goose that had four legs, two crops, and as many vents.

*29th March.* That excellent man, Mr. Owen,<sup>3</sup> preached in my library on Matt. xxviii. 6, a resurrection-sermon, and after it we all received the Holy Communion.

*6th April.* Came my Lord Herbert, Sir Kenelm Digby,<sup>4</sup> Mr. Denham,<sup>5</sup> and other friends, to see me.

*15th.* I went to London, to hear the famous Dr. Jeremy Taylor<sup>6</sup> (since Bishop of Down and

<sup>1</sup> [See *post*, under 14th November, 1668.]

<sup>2</sup> [See *ante*, p. 68.]

<sup>3</sup> [See *ante*, p. 8.]

<sup>4</sup> [See *ante*, vol. i. p. 46.]

<sup>5</sup> [John Denham, the poet, afterwards Sir John, 1615-69. At this date, he had been attendant to Henrietta Maria at Paris, where Evelyn had no doubt become acquainted with him. His well-known *Cooper's Hill* was published in 1642.]

<sup>6</sup> [Dr. Jeremy Taylor, 1613-67, often referred to hereafter. His *Holy Living* was published in 1650; his *Holy Dying* in 1651. He became Bishop of Down and Connor in 1661.]



Connor) at St. Gregory's (near St. Paul's) on Matt. vi. 48, concerning evangelical perfection.

*5th May.* I bound my lackey, Thomas Headly, apprentice to a carpenter, giving with him five pounds and new clothing; he thrived very well, and became rich.

*8th.* I went to Hackney, to see Lady Brooke's garden, which was one of the neatest and most celebrated in England, the house well furnished, but a despicable building. Returning, visited one Mr. Tomb's garden; it has large and noble walks, some modern statues, a vineyard, planted in strawberry borders, staked at ten feet distances; the banqueting-house of cedar, where the couch and seats were carved *à l'antique*; some good pictures in the house, especially one of Vandyck's, being a man in his shirt; also some of Steenwyck. I also called at Mr. Ducie's, who has indeed a rare collection of the best masters, and one of the largest stories of H. Holbein. I also saw Sir Thomas Fowler's aviary, which is a poor business.

*10th.* My Lady Gerrard treated us at Mulberry Garden,<sup>1</sup> now the only place of refreshment about the town for persons of the best quality to be exceedingly cheated at; Cromwell and his partisans having shut up and seized on Spring Garden,<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The Mulberry Garden stood on the site of what is now Buckingham Palace and Gardens, a garden of mulberry trees having been planted there by James the First. The houses which preceded Buckingham Palace on the site, were Goring House, Arlington House, and Buckingham House or the Queen's House, the last having been pulled down to erect Nash's present building. Sir Charles Sedley made the Mulberry Garden the subject of a comedy, and it was not closed, as a place of entertainment, until the date of Charles the Second's grant of it to Bennet, Earl of Arlington, in 1673.

<sup>2</sup> [See *ante*, p. 12. The Spring Garden, once a pleasure-ground attached to Whitehall Palace, and lying between Charing Cross and St. James's Park, is now built upon. In the *Character of*

which, till now, had been the usual rendezvous for the ladies and gallants at this season.

11th May. I now observed how the women began to paint themselves, formerly a most ignominious thing, and used only by prostitutes.

14th. There being no such thing as church-anniversaries in the parochial assemblies, I was forced to provide at home for Whit Sunday.

15th. Came Sir Robert Stapylton, the translator of Juvenal, to visit me.<sup>1</sup>

8th June. My wife and I set out in a coach and four horses, in our way to visit relations of hers in Wiltshire, and other parts, where we resolved to spend some months. We dined at Windsor, saw the Castle and Chapel of St. George, where they have laid our Blessed Martyr, King Charles, in the vault just before the altar. The church and workmanship in stone is admirable. The Castle itself is large in circumference; but the rooms melancholy, and of ancient magnificence. The keep, or mount, hath, besides its incomparable

*England*, 1659, Evelyn thus describes it. The enclosure—he says—is “not disagreeable, for the solemnness of the grove, the warbling of the birds, and as it opens into the spacious walks at St. James’s; but the company walk in it at such a rate, as you would think all the ladies were so many Atalantes, contending with their wooers; . . . but as fast as they run, they stay there so long, as if they wanted not time to finish the race: for it is usual here to find some of the young company till midnight.” Evelyn dwells further on the exorbitant prices of refreshments, which have enabled the proprietor, within a few years, to purchase £500 of annual rent (*Miscellaneous Writings*, 1825, pp. 165-66).]

<sup>1</sup> A member of a Yorkshire Catholic family, who obtained the post of Gentleman of the Bedchamber to Prince Charles (Charles II.), occasionally varying his duties by fighting against the Parliamentarians and writing books. For his services at Edgehill, he was knighted in 1642 by Charles I. He was also made a D.C.L., and died in 1669. [His version of Juvenal’s *Sixteen Satyrs, with Arguments, Notes and Annotations*, appeared in 1647. He also translated Strada’s *Belgic War*, 1650 (see *ante*, vol. i. p. 198).]

prospect, a very profound well; and the terrace towards Eton, with the park, meandering Thames, and sweet meadows, yield one of the most delightful prospects. That night, we lay at Reading. Saw my Lord Craven's<sup>1</sup> house at Caversham, now in ruins, his goodly woods felling by the rebels.

9th June. Dined at Marlborough, which having been lately fired, was now new built. At one end of this town, we saw my Lord Seymour's house,<sup>2</sup> but nothing observable save the Mount, to which we ascended by windings for near half a mile. It seems to have been cast up by hand. We passed by Colonel Popham's, a noble seat, park, and river. Thence, to Newbury, a considerable town, and Donnington, famous for its battle, siege, and castle; this last had been in the possession of old Geoffrey Chaucer. Then to Aldermaston, a house of Sir Humphrey Forster's, built *à la moderne*. Also, that exceedingly beautiful seat of my Lord Pembroke, on the ascent of a hill, flanked with wood, and regarding the river; and so, at night, to Cadenham, the mansion of Edward Hungerford, Esq., uncle to my wife,<sup>3</sup> where we made some stay.

<sup>1</sup> William Craven, Earl of Craven, 1606-97, eldest son of Sir William Craven, Lord Mayor of London. After serving under Gustavus Adolphus and Henry, Prince of Orange, he distinguished himself against the forces of the Parliament, and was created by Charles I., in 1664, Viscount and Earl Craven. He survived all the changes of the government, and, in the latter years of his life, acquired some celebrity from an odd peculiarity of taste. He was so sure to be at any conflagration that occurred in London, that the people said his horse "smelt a fire as soon as it happened."

<sup>2</sup> [*I.e.* that built by Inigo Jones's pupil, John Webbe, for Francis, Baron Seymour of Trowbridge, 1590-1664; and afterwards for nearly a century the Castle Inn, a famous hostelry on the great Bath Road, closed in 1843. It then became the nucleus (C. House) of Marlborough College.]

<sup>3</sup> [See *post*, pp. 83 and 87 *n.*]

The rest of the week we did nothing but feast and make good cheer, to welcome my wife.

27<sup>th</sup> June. We all went to see Bath, where I bathed in the Cross Bath. Among the rest of the idle diversions of the town, one musician was famous for acting a changeling, which indeed he personated strangely.

The *facciata* of this cathedral is remarkable for its historical carving. The King's Bath is esteemed the fairest in Europe. The town is entirely built of stone, but the streets narrow, uneven and unpleasant. Here, we trifled and bathed, and inter-visited with the company who frequent the place for health, till the 30<sup>th</sup>, and then went to Bristol, a city emulating London, not for its large extent, but manner of building, shops, bridge, traffic, exchange, market-place, etc. The governor showed us the castle, of no great concernment.<sup>1</sup> The city wholly mercantile, as standing near the famous Severn, commodiously for Ireland, and the Western world. Here, I first saw the manner of refining sugar and casting it into loaves, where we had a collation of eggs fried in the sugar furnace,<sup>2</sup> together with excellent Spanish wine. But what appeared most stupendous to me, was the rock of St. Vincent,<sup>3</sup> a little distance from the town, the precipice whereof is equal to anything of that nature I have seen in the most confragose<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> [Built under William the Conqueror and finished by the Red Earl of Gloucester (Robert the Consul), c. 1138. Scarcely a vestige of it now remains.]

<sup>2</sup> An entertainment akin to the once popular custom, eating of beefsteaks dressed on the stoker's shovel, to the accompaniment of porter, at the famous brewhouses in London.

<sup>3</sup> [Called after the Chapel of St. Vincent of Valentia. They are "Great Cliffs w<sup>ch</sup> seeme as bounds to y<sup>e</sup> river Aven," says Celia Fiennes (*Diary* (1689-94), 1888, p. 201); and are now united by the Suspension Bridge.]

<sup>4</sup> [*Confragosus*,—broken, rugged.]

cataracts of the Alps, the river gliding between them at an extraordinary depth. Here, we went searching for diamonds,<sup>1</sup> and to the Hot Wells, at its foot. There is also on the side of this horrid Alp a very romantic seat: and so we returned to Bath in the evening, and July 1 to Cadenham.

*4th July.* On a letter from my wife's uncle, Mr. Pretymen,<sup>2</sup> I waited back on her to London, passing by Hungerford, a town famous for its trouts,<sup>3</sup> and the next day arrived at Deptford, which was 60 miles, in the extremity of heat.

*6th.* I went early to London, and the following day met my wife and company at Oxford, the eve of the Act.

*8th.* Was spent in hearing several exercises in the schools; and, after dinner, the Proctor opened the Act at St. Mary's (according to custom),<sup>4</sup> and the Prevaricators, their drollery. Then, the Doctors disputed. We supped at Wadham College.

*9th.* Dr. French<sup>5</sup> preached at St. Mary's, on Matt. xii. 42, advising the students the search after true wisdom, not to be had in the books of philosophers, but in the Scriptures alone. In the afternoon, the famous Independent, Dr. Owen, perstringing<sup>6</sup> Episcopacy. He was now Cromwell's Vice-Chancellor.<sup>7</sup> We dined with Dr.

<sup>1</sup> [Crystals. "They Digg y<sup>e</sup> Bristol Diamonds w<sup>ch</sup> Look very Bright and in their native Rudeness have a great Lustre and are pointed and Like y<sup>e</sup> Diamond Cutting" (Celia Fiennes, *Diary* (1689-94), 1888, p. 201).]

<sup>2</sup> [See *ante*, p. 3.]

<sup>3</sup> [Hungerford, partly in Berks, partly in Wilts, is on the Kennet, a fine trout stream.]

<sup>4</sup> See *post*, under 9th July, 1669.]

<sup>5</sup> [Afterwards Chaplain to Dr. Sheldon, Archbishop of Canterbury.]

<sup>6</sup> [See *ante*, p. 36.]

<sup>7</sup> [Dr. John Owen, 1616-83. He was Vice-Chancellor of Oxford, 1652-58, and Dean of Christ Church, 1651-60.]

Ward, Mathematical Professor (since Bishop of Sarum),<sup>1</sup> and at night supped in Balliol College Hall, where I had once been student and fellow-commoner, and where they made me extraordinarily welcome.<sup>2</sup>

*10th July.* On Monday, I went again to the schools, to hear the several faculties, and in the afternoon tarried out the whole Act in St. Mary's, the long speeches of the Proctors, the Vice-Chancellor, the several Professors, creation of Doctors, by the cap, ring, kiss, etc., those ancient ceremonies and institution being as yet not wholly abolished. Dr. Kendal,<sup>3</sup> now Inceptor amongst others, performing his Act incomparably well, concluded it with an excellent oration, abating his Presbyterian animosities, which he withheld, not even against that learned and pious divine, Dr. Hammond. The Act was closed with the speech of the Vice-Chancellor, there being but four in theology, and three in medicine, which was thought a considerable matter, the times considered. I dined at one Monsieur Fiat's, a student of Exeter College, and supped at a magnificent entertainment of Wadham Hall, invited by my dear and excellent friend, Dr. Wilkins,<sup>4</sup> then Warden (after, Bishop of Chester).

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Seth Ward, 1617-89, finished his education at Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge, where he obtained a fellowship. He was expelled the university in 1644, for refusing the Covenant. Oxford, as usual, received him; where he succeeded Greaves, the Savilian Professor of Astronomy; and in 1654, obtained the degree of Doctor of Divinity. He was intimately acquainted with the abstract sciences, and was one of that limited band of scholars at whose meetings first arose the idea of the Royal Society, in which Evelyn took so deep an interest and so active a part.

<sup>2</sup> [See *ante*, vol. i. p. 14.]

<sup>3</sup> [Dr. George Kendall, 1610-63. He defended Calvinism in various polemics.]

<sup>4</sup> [Dr. John Wilkins, 1614-72, Warden of Wadham, 1648-59, and Bishop of Chester, 1668-72. He was active in forming the

11th July. Was the Latin sermon, which I could not be at, though invited, being taken up at All Souls, where we had music, voices, and theorbos, performed by some ingenious scholars. After dinner, I visited that miracle of a youth, Mr. Christopher Wren,<sup>1</sup> nephew to the Bishop of Ely. Then Mr. Barlow (since Bishop of Lincoln),<sup>2</sup> bibliothecarius of the Bodleian Library, my most learned friend. He showed us the rarities of that most famous place, manuscripts, medals, and other curiosities. Among the MSS. an old English Bible, wherein the Eunuch mentioned to be baptized by Philip, is called the Gelding: "and Philip and the Gelding went down into the water," etc. The original Acts of the Council of Basle 900 years since, with the *bullæ*, or leaden affix, which has a silken cord passing through every parchment; a MS. of Venerable Bede of 800 years' antiquity; the old Ritual *secundum usum Sarum*, exceeding voluminous; then, among the nicer curiosities, the Proverbs of Solomon, written in French by a lady,<sup>3</sup> every chapter of a several character, or hand, the most exquisite imaginable; an hieroglyphical table, or *carta*, folded up like a map, I suppose it painted on asses' hide, extremely rare; but what is most

Royal Society; and he wrote many scientific and religious works. His wife, Robina, was a sister of Cromwell; and his stepdaughter became the wife of Tillotson. Evelyn was much attached to Wilkins.]

<sup>1</sup> [Afterwards Sir Christopher, 1632-1723, at this date of Wadham. See *post*, under 13th July, 1654, and 24th October, 1664.]

<sup>2</sup> [Dr. Thomas Barlow, 1607-91, librarian of the Bodleian, 1642-60, and Bishop of Lincoln, 1675-91.]

<sup>3</sup> Mrs. Hester English, or Inglis, 1571-1624, married to Bartholomew Kello, rector of Willingale Spain, in Essex. There are MSS. written or illuminated by her in the Bodleian, the British Museum, and elsewhere. An account of her curious penmanship is given in William Massey's *Origin and Progress of Letters*, 1763.

illustrious, there were no less than 1000 MSS., in nineteen languages, especially oriental, furnishing that new part of the library built by Archbishop Laud, from a design of Sir Kenelm Digby and the Earl of Pembroke. In the closet of the tower, they show some Indian weapons, urns, lamps, etc., but the rarest is the whole Alcoran, written on one large sheet of calico, made up in a priest's vesture, or cope, after the Turkish and Arabic character, so exquisitely written, as no printed letter comes near it: also, a roll of magical charms, divers talismans, and some medals.

Then, I led my wife into the Convocation-House, finely wainscoted; the Divinity School, and Gothic carved roof; the Physic, or Anatomy School, adorned with some rarities of natural things; but nothing extraordinary save the skin of a jackal, a rarely-coloured jacatoo,<sup>1</sup> or prodigious large parrot, two humming birds, not much bigger than our humble-bee, which indeed I had not seen before, that I remember.

*12th July.* We went to St. John's, saw the library and the two skeletons, which are finely cleansed and put together; observable is here also the store of mathematical instruments, chiefly given by the late Archbishop Laud, who built here a handsome quadrangle.

Thence, we went to New College, where the chapel was in its ancient garb, notwithstanding the scrupulosity of the times. Thence, to Christ's Church, in whose library was showed us an Office of Henry VIII., the writing, miniatures, and gilding whereof is equal, if not surpassing, any curiosity I had seen of that kind; it was given by their founder, Cardinal Wolsey. The glass windows of the cathedral (famous in my time) I found much abused. The ample hall and column,

<sup>1</sup> [Cockatoo. Evelyn calls chocolate, jacolatt.]



that spreads its capital to sustain the roof as one goes up the stairs, is very remarkable.

Next, we walked to Magdalen College, where we saw the library and chapel, which was likewise in pontifical order, the altar only I think turned tablewise, and there was still the double organ, which abominations (as now esteemed) were almost universally demolished; Mr. Gibbons,<sup>1</sup> that famous musician, giving us a taste of his skill and talents on that instrument.

Hence, to the Physic Garden, where the sensitive plant was showed us for a great wonder.<sup>2</sup> There grew canes, olive trees, rhubarb, but no extraordinary curiosities, besides very good fruit, which, when the ladies had tasted, we returned in our coach to our lodgings.

*18th July.* We all dined at that most obliging and universally curious Dr. Wilkins's, at Wadham College. He was the first who showed me the transparent apiaries, which he had built like castles and palaces, and so ordered them one upon another, as to take the honey without destroying the bees. These were adorned with a variety of dials, little statues, vanes, etc.; and, he was so abundantly civil, finding me pleased with them, to present me with one of the hives which he had empty, and which I afterwards had in my garden at Sayes Court, where it continued many years, and which his Majesty came on purpose to see and contemplate with much satisfaction. He had also

<sup>1</sup> [Christopher Gibbons, 1615-76, elder son of Orlando Gibbons, and Mus.D. Oxford, 1663. He was organist of Winchester Cathedral.]

<sup>2</sup> ["There [in the Physic Garden] is also y<sup>e</sup> sensible plant, take but a Leafe between finger and thumb and squeeze it and it immediately Curles up together as if pained and after some tyme opens abroad again, it looks in Coullour like a filbert Leafe but much narrower and long" (*Diary of Celia Fiennes* (1689-94), 1888, p. 26).]

contrived a hollow statue, which gave a voice and uttered words by a long concealed pipe that went to its mouth,<sup>1</sup> whilst one speaks through it at a good distance. He had, above in his lodgings and gallery, variety of shadows, dials, perspectives, and many other artificial, mathematical, and magical curiosities, a way-wiser,<sup>2</sup> a thermometer, a monstrous magnet, conic, and other sections, a balance on a demi-circle; most of them of his own, and that prodigious young scholar Mr. Christopher Wren; who presented me with a piece of white marble, which he had stained with a lively red, very deep, as beautiful as if it had been natural.

Thus satisfied with the civilities of Oxford, we left it, dining at Farringdon, a town which had been newly fired during the wars; and, passing near the seat of Sir Walter Pye, we came to Cadenham.

16th July. We went to another uncle and relative of my wife's, Sir John Glanville, a famous lawyer, formerly Speaker of the House of Commons;<sup>3</sup> his seat is at Broad Hinton, where he now lived but in the Gatehouse, his very fair dwelling-house having been burnt by his own hands, to prevent the rebels making a garrison of it. Here, my cousin William Glanville's eldest son showed me such a lock for a door, that for its filing, and rare contrivances was a masterpiece, yet made by a country blacksmith.<sup>4</sup> But, we have

<sup>1</sup> Such were the speaking figures once exhibited in Spring Gardens, and in Leicester Fields.

<sup>2</sup> [This is defined in the Rev. J. Ward's *Diary* (1648-79), 1839, p. 160, as "an instrument called a waywiser by the motion whereof a man may see how many steps he takes in a day; I have seen one worth thirty shillings." It corresponds to the modern pedometer (see *post*, under 6th August, 1657, as to the application of this contrivance to coaches).]

<sup>3</sup> [Sir John Glanville, 1586-1661, Speaker of the Short Parliament, 1640; knighted in 1641.]

<sup>4</sup> A similar lock—says Bray—is still shown at Hampden,

seen watches made by another with as much curiosity as the best of that profession can brag of; and, not many years after, there was nothing more frequent than all sorts of iron-work more exquisitely wrought and polished than in any part of Europe, so as a door-lock of a tolerable price was esteemed a curiosity even among foreign princes.

Went back to Cadenham, and, on the 19th, to Sir Edward Baynton's at Spye Park, a place capable of being made a noble seat; but the humorous old knight has built a long single house of two low stories on the precipice of an incomparable prospect, and landing on a bowling-green in the park. The house is like a long barn, and has not a window on the prospect side. After dinner, they went to bowls, and, in the meantime, our coachmen were made so exceeding drunk, that in returning home we escaped great dangers. This, it seems, was by order of the Knight, that all gentlemen's servants be so treated; but the custom is barbarous, and much unbecoming a Knight, still less a Christian.<sup>1</sup>

20th July. We proceeded to Salisbury; the Cathedral I take to be the completest piece of Gothic work in Europe, taken in all its uniformity. The pillars, reputed to be cast, are of stone manifestly cut out of the quarry; most observable are those in the chapter-house. There are some remarkable monuments, particularly the ancient Bishops, founders of the Church, Knights Templars,

affixed to the door of the room (one of the few still remaining of the older building) which the patriot is said to have occupied and slept in.

<sup>1</sup> [Butler makes this a characteristic of the Country Squire. "He has but one Way of making all Men welcome, that come to his House, and that is, by making himself and them drunk, while his Servants take the same Course with theirs, which he approves of as good and faithful service" (*Genuine Remains*, 1759, ii. 92).]

the Marquis of Hertford's, the cloisters of the palace and garden, and the great mural dial.

In the afternoon we went to Wilton, a fine house of the Earl of Pembroke, in which the most observable are the dining-room in the modern-built part towards the garden, richly gilded and painted with story by De Crete;<sup>1</sup> also, some other apartments, as that of hunting landscapes, by Pierce:<sup>2</sup> some magnificent chimney-pieces, after the best French manner; a pair of artificial winding-stairs, of stone, and divers rare pictures. The garden, heretofore esteemed the noblest in England, is a large handsome plain, with a grotto and water-works, which might be made much more pleasant, were the river that passes through cleansed and raised; for all is effected by a mere force. It has a flower garden, not inelegant. But, after all, that which renders the seat delightful is, its being so near the downs and noble plains about the country contiguous to it. The stables are well ordered and yield a graceful front, by reason of the walks of lime trees, with the court and fountain of the stables adorned with the Cæsars' heads.

We returned this evening by the plain, and 14-mile race, where out of my lord's hare-warren we were entertained with a long course of a hare for near two miles in sight. Near this, is a *pergola*, or stand, built to view the sports: and so we came to Salisbury, and saw the most considerable parts of the city. The market-place, with most of the streets, are watered by a quick current and pure stream running through the middle of them,

<sup>1</sup> [Probably one of three decorative painters named De Critz.]

<sup>2</sup> Edward Pierce, a celebrated painter of history, landscape, and architecture, who worked under Vandyck. He died a few years after the Restoration. One of his sons, John, was also a painter; and another, Edward, a statuary and architect (*d.* 1698), assisted Wren in building St. Clement Danes Church in the Strand.

but are negligently kept, when with a small charge they might be purged and rendered infinitely agreeable, and [this] made one of the sweetest towns, but now the common buildings are despicable, and the streets dirty.

*22nd July.* We departed and dined at a farm of my Uncle Hungerford's, called Darnford Magna, situated in a valley under the plain, most sweetly watered, abounding in trouts caught by spear in the night, when they come attracted by a light set in the stern of a boat.

After dinner, continuing our return, we passed over the goodly plain, or rather sea of carpet, which I think for evenness, extent, verdure, and innumerable flocks, to be one of the most delightful prospects in nature, and reminded me of the pleasant lives of shepherds we read of in romances.

Now we were arrived at Stonehenge, indeed a stupendous monument, appearing at a distance like a castle; how so many and huge pillars of stone should have been brought together, some erect, others transverse on the tops of them, in a circular area as rudely representing a cloister or heathen and more natural temple, is wonderful. The stone is so exceeding hard, that all my strength with a hammer could not break a fragment; which hardness I impute to their so long exposure. To number them exactly is very difficult, they lie in such variety of postures and confusion, though they seemed not to exceed 100; we counted only 95. As to their being brought thither, there being no navigable river near, is by some admired; but for the stone, there seems to be the same kind about 20 miles distant, some of which appear above ground. About the same hills, are divers mounts raised, conceived to be ancient entrenchments, or places of burial, after bloody fights. We

now went by the Devizes, a reasonable large town, and came late to Cadenham.

27th July. To the hunting of a sorel deer,<sup>1</sup> and had excellent chase for four or five hours, but the venison little worth.

29th. I went to Langford, to see my cousin Stephens.<sup>2</sup> I also saw Dryfield, the house heretofore of Sir John Pretymann, grandfather to my wife, and sold by her uncle; both the seat and house very honourable and well-built, much after the modern fashion.

31st. Taking leave of Cadenham,<sup>3</sup> where we had been long and nobly entertained, we went a compass into Leicestershire, where dwelt another relation of my wife's; for I indeed made these excursions to show her the most considerable parts of her native country, who, from her childhood, had lived altogether in France, as well as for my own curiosity and information.

About two miles before coming to Gloucester, we have a prospect from woody hills into a most goodly vale and country. Gloucester is a handsome city, considerable for the church and monuments. The minster is indeed a noble fabric. The whispering gallery is rare, being through a passage of twenty-five yards, in a many-angled cloister, and was, I suppose, either to show the skill of the architect, or some invention of a cunning priest, who, standing unseen in a recess in the middle of the chapel, might hear whatever was spoken at either end. This is above the choir, in which lies buried King Stephen<sup>4</sup> under a monument of Irish oak, not ill carved considering the age. The new library is a noble though a private design. I was

<sup>1</sup> [*I.e.* a buck of the fourth year.]

<sup>2</sup> [See *ante*, p. 66.]

<sup>3</sup> [See *ante*, p. 80.]

<sup>4</sup> King Stephen was buried at Faversham. The effigy Evelyn alludes to is that of Robert Curthose, Duke of Normandy.

likewise pleased with the Severn gliding so sweetly by it. The Duke's house, the castle works, are now almost quite dismantled ; nor yet without sad thoughts did I see the town, considering how fatal the siege had been a few years before to our good King.

*1st August.* We set out towards Worcester, by a way thick planted with cider-fruit. We deviated to the Holy Wells, trickling out of a valley through a steep declivity towards the foot of the great Malvern Hills ; they are said to heal many infirmities, as king's evil, leprosy, sore eyes, etc. Ascending a great height above them to the trench dividing England from South Wales, we had the prospect of all Herefordshire, Radnor, Brecknock, Monmouth, Worcester, Gloucester, Shropshire, Warwick, Derby shires, and many more. We could discern Tewkesbury, King's-road, towards Bristol, etc. ; so as I esteem it one of the goodliest vistas in England.

*2nd.* This evening we arrived at Worcester, the Judges of Assize and Sheriff just entering as we did. Viewing the town the next day, we found the Cathedral much ruined by the late wars, otherwise a noble structure. The town is neatly paved and very clean, the goodly river Severn running by it, and standing in a most fertile country.

*3rd.* We passed next through Warwick, and saw the castle, the dwelling-house of the Lord Brooke,<sup>1</sup> and the furniture noble. It is built on an eminent rock which gives prospect into a most goodly green, a woody and plentifully watered country ; the river running so delightfully under it, that it may pass for one of the most surprising seats one should meet with. The gardens are prettily disposed ; but might be much improved.

<sup>1</sup> [Francis Greville, third Baron Brooke.]

Here they show us Sir Guy's great two-handed sword, staff, horse-arms, pot, and other relics<sup>1</sup> of that famous knight-errant. Warwick is a fair old town, and hath one church full of ancient monuments.

Having viewed these, I went to visit my worthy friend, Sir H. Puckering,<sup>2</sup> at the Abbey, and though a melancholy old seat, yet in a rich soil.

Hence, to Sir Guy's grot, where they say he did his penances, and died.<sup>3</sup> It is a squalid den made in the rock, crowned yet with venerable oaks and looking on a goodly stream, so as, were it improved as it might be, it were capable of being made a most romantic and pleasant place. Near this, we were showed his chapel and gigantic statue hewn out of the solid rock, out of which there are likewise divers other caves cut, and some very capacious.

The next place to Coventry. The Cross is remarkable for Gothic work and rich gilding, comparable to any I had ever seen, except that of Cheapside in London, now demolished.<sup>4</sup> This city has many handsome churches, a beautiful wall, a fair free-school and library to it; the streets full of great shops, clean and well-paved. At going forth the gate, they show us the bone, or rib, of a wild boar, said to have been killed by Sir Guy, but which I take to be the chine of a whale.

*4th August.* Hence, riding through a considerable part of Leicestershire, an open, rich, but

<sup>1</sup> [Among which Celia Fiennes enumerates "his wives iron slippers" and "the Rib of y<sup>e</sup> Dun-Cow as bigg as halfe a great Cart Wheele" (*Diary* (1689-94), 1888, p. 95).]

<sup>2</sup> [See *ante*, p. 56.]

<sup>3</sup> ["2 Miles from the town is his Cave dugg out by his own hands just y<sup>e</sup> dimation of his body as the Common people say" (*Diary of Celia Fiennes* (1689-94), 1888, p. 95).]

<sup>4</sup> [May 2, 1643, Isaac Pennington, the regicide, being Mayor of London. Evelyn was an eye-witness (see *ante*, vol. i. p. 62).]



unpleasant country, we came late in the evening to Horninghold, a seat of my wife's uncle.<sup>1</sup>

7th August. Went to Uppingham, the shire-town of Rutland, pretty and well-built of stone, which is a rarity in that part of England, where most of the rural parishes are but of mud, and the people living as wretchedly as in the most impoverished parts of France, which they much resemble, being idle and sluttish. The country (especially Leicestershire) much in common; the gentry free drinkers.

9th. To the old and ragged city of Leicester, large and pleasantly seated, but despicably built, the chimney-flues like so many smiths' forges; however, famous for the tomb of the tyrant, Richard the Third, which is now converted to a cistern, at which (I think) cattle drink.<sup>2</sup> Also, here in one of the churches lies buried the magnificent Cardinal Wolsey.<sup>3</sup> John of Gaunt has here also built a large but poor Hospital, near which a wretch has made him a house out of the ruins of a stately church. Saw the ruins of an old Roman Temple, thought to be of Janus. Entertained at a very fine collection of fruits, such as I did not expect to meet with so far north, especially very good melons. We returned to my uncle's.

14th. I took a journey into the northern parts, riding through Oakham, a pretty town in Rutlandshire, famous for the tenure of the Barons (Ferrers), who hold it by taking off a shoe from every nobleman's horse that passes with his lord through the street, unless redeemed with a certain piece of

<sup>1</sup> Doubtless Mr. Hungerford (*ante*, p. 73). Sir Edward Hungerford, K.B.—says Bray—presented to the vicarage of Horninghold [a village N.E. of Market Harborough] in 1676.

<sup>2</sup> ["I saw a piece of his tombstone he Lay in"—says Celia Fiennes—"w<sup>ch</sup> was Cut out in exact form for his body to Lye in; y<sup>t</sup> remains to be seen at y<sup>e</sup> Greyhound at Leaster but is partly broken" (*Diary* (1689-94), 1888, p. 134).]

<sup>3</sup> [In Leicester Abbey.]

money. In token of this, are several gilded shoes nailed up on the castle-gate,<sup>1</sup> which seems to have been large and fair. Hence, we went by Brook, a very sweet seat and park of the old Lady Camden's. Next, by Burley House, belonging to the Duke of Buckingham,<sup>2</sup> and worthily reckoned among the noblest seats in England, situate on the brow of a hill, built *à la moderne* near a park walled in, and a fine wood at the descent.

Now we were come to Cottsmore, a pretty seat belonging to Mr. Heath,<sup>3</sup> son to the Lord Chief Justice of that name. Here, after dinner, parting with the company that conducted us thus far, I passed that evening by Belvoir Castle, built on a round mount at the point of a long ridge of hills, which affords a stately prospect, and is famous for its strenuous resistance in the late civil war.

Went by Newark-on-Trent, a brave town and garrison. Next, by Wharton House, belonging to the Lord Chaworth, a handsome seat: then, by Home, a noble place belonging to the Marquis of Dorchester, and passed the famous river Trent, which divides the South from the North of England; and so lay that night at Nottingham.

This whole town and county seems to be but one entire rock, as it were, an exceeding pleasant shire, full of gentry. Here, I observed divers to live in the rocks and caves, much after the manner as about Tours, in France.<sup>4</sup> The church is well built on an eminence; there is a fair house of the Lord Clare's, another of Pierrepont's; an ample market-place; large streets, full of crosses; the relics of an ancient castle, hollowed beneath which

<sup>1</sup> A shoe was paid for as late as the year 1788, by the Duke of York (Bray).

<sup>2</sup> Called Burley-on-the-Hill, to distinguish it from the Earl of Exeter's, near Stamford. The Duke of Buckingham sold it to the family of Finch, Earls of Winchelsea and Nottingham.

<sup>3</sup> [See *ante*, p. 50.]

<sup>4</sup> See *ante*, vol. i. p. 110.

are many caverns, especially that of the Scots King, and his work whilst there.<sup>1</sup>

This place is remarkable for being the place where his Majesty first erected his standard at the beginning of our late unhappy differences.<sup>2</sup> The prospects from this city towards the river and meadows are most delightful.

*15th August.* We passed next through Sherwood Forest, accounted the most extensive in England. Then, Papplewick, an incomparable vista with the pretty castle near it. Thence, we saw Newstead Abbey,<sup>3</sup> belonging to the Lord Byron, situated much like Fontainebleau in France, capable of being made a noble seat, accommodated as it is with brave woods and streams; it has yet remaining the front of a glorious abbey church. Next, by Mansfield town; then Welbeck, the house of the Marquis of Newcastle, seated in a bottom in a park, and environed with woods, a noble yet melancholy seat. The palace is a handsome and stately building. Next to Worksop Abbey, almost demolished; the church has a double flat tower entire, and a pretty gate. The manor belongs to the Earl of Arundel, and has to it a fair house at the foot of a hill in a park that affords a delicate prospect. Tickhill, a town and castle, has a very noble prospect. All these in Nottinghamshire.<sup>4</sup>

*16th.* We arrived at Doncaster, where we lay this night; it is a large fair town, famous for great wax-lights, and good stockings.

<sup>1</sup> [Celia Fiennes, who was "very well Entertained and very Reasonably att the Blackmoors head," speaks of the "Cellars dugg out of the Rocks" (*Diary* (1689-94), 1888, p. 56).]

<sup>2</sup> [22nd August, 1642.]

<sup>3</sup> An ancient house—says Forster—which has passed from the old family it then and since belonged to, but not till it had derived, from the last Byron who dwelt in it, associations that have given it interest.

<sup>4</sup> [Tickhill is in Yorkshire.]

*17th August.* Passed through Pontefract; the castle, famous for many sieges both of late and ancient times, and the death of that unhappy King murdered in it (Richard II.), was now demolishing by the rebels; it stands on a mount, and makes a goodly show at a distance. The Queen has a house here, and there are many fair seats near it, especially Mr. Pierrepont's, built at the foot of a hill out of the castle ruins. We all alighted in the highway to drink at a crystal spring, which they call Robin Hood's Well; near it, is a stone chair, and an iron ladle to drink out of, chained to the seat. We rode to Tadcaster, at the side of which we have prospect of the Archbishop's Palace (which is a noble seat), and in sight of divers other gentlemen's fair houses. This tract is a goodly, fertile, well-watered and wooded country, abounding with pasture and plenty of provisions.

To York, the second city of England, fairly walled, of a circular form, watered by the brave river Ouse, bearing vessels of considerable burden on it; over it is a stone bridge emulating that of London, and built on; the middle arch is larger than any I have seen in England, with a wharf of hewn stone, which makes the river appear very neat. But most remarkable and worthy seeing is St. Peter's Cathedral, which of all the great churches in England had been best preserved<sup>1</sup> from the fury of the sacrilegious, by composition with the rebels when they took the city, during the many incursions of Scotch and others. It is a most entire magnificent piece of Gothic architecture. The screen before the choir is of stone carved with flowers, running work, and statues of the old kings. Many of the monuments are very ancient. Here, as a great rarity in these days and at this time, they showed me a Bible and Common Prayer-

<sup>1</sup> By Fairfax.

Book covered with crimson velvet, and richly embossed with silver gilt; also a service for the altar of gilt wrought plate, flagons, basin, ewer, chalices, patins, etc., with a gorgeous covering for the altar and pulpit, carefully preserved in the vestry, in the hollow wall whereof rises a plentiful spring of excellent water.<sup>1</sup> I got up to the tower, whence we had a prospect towards Durham, and could see Ripon, part of Lancashire, the famous and fatal Marston Moor, the Spas of Knaresborough, and all the environs of that admirable country. Sir — Ingoldsby has here a large house, gardens, and tennis-court; also the King's house and church near the castle, which was modernly fortified with a palisade and bastions. The streets are narrow and ill-paved, the shops like London.

*18th August.* We went to Beverley, a large town with two stately churches, St. John's<sup>2</sup> and St. Mary's, not much inferior to the best of our Cathedrals. Here a very old woman showed us the monuments, and, being above 100 years of age, spake the language of Queen Mary's days, in whose time she was born; she was widow of a sexton who had belonged to the church a hundred years.

Hence, we passed through a fenny but rich country to Hull, situate like Calais, modernly and strongly fortified with three block-houses of brick and earth. It has a good market-place and harbour for ships. Famous also (or rather infamous) is this town for Hotham's refusing entrance to his Majesty. The water-house is worth seeing. And here ends the south of Yorkshire.

*19th.* We pass the Humber, an arm of the sea of about two leagues' breadth. The weather was bad, but we crossed it in a good barge to Barton, the first town in that part of Lincolnshire. All

<sup>1</sup> [St. Peter's Well.]

<sup>2</sup> [Beverley Minster.]

marsh ground till we came to Brigg, famous for the plantations of liquorice, and then had brave pleasant riding to Lincoln, much resembling Salisbury Plain. Lincoln is an old confused town, very long, uneven, steep, and ragged; formerly full of good houses, especially churches and abbeys. The Minster almost comparable to that of York itself, abounding with marble pillars, and having a fair front (herein was interred Queen Eleanor, the loyal and loving wife who sucked the poison out of her husband's wound); the abbot founder, with rare carving in the stone; the great bell, or Tom, as they call it. I went up the steeple, from whence is a goodly prospect all over the country. The soldiers had lately knocked off most of the brasses from the grave-stones, so as few inscriptions were left; they told us that these men went in with axes and hammers, and shut themselves in, till they had rent and torn off some barge-loads of metal, not sparing even the monuments of the dead; so hellish an avarice possessed them: besides which, they exceedingly ruined the city.

Here, I saw a tall woman six feet two inches high, comely, middle-aged, and well-proportioned, who kept a very neat and clean ale-house, and got most by people's coming to see her on account of her height.

*20th August.* From hence we had a most pleasant ride over a large heath open like Salisbury Plain, to Grantham, a pretty town, so well situated on the side of a bottom which is large and at a distance environed with ascending grounds, that for pleasure I consider it comparable to most inland places of England; famous is the steeple for the exceeding height of the shaft, which is of stone.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> ["Its a long tyme w<sup>h</sup> you see a great part of the Steeple before you come to see the Church or town it Lies so in a bottom," says Celia Fiennes (*Diary* (1689-94), 1888, p. 54).]

About eighteen miles south, we pass by a noble seat, and see Boston at a distance. Here, we came to a parish of which the parson hath tithe ale.

Thence through Rutland, we brought night to Horninghold,<sup>1</sup> from whence I set out on this excursion.

*22nd August.* I went a setting and hawking, where we had tolerable sport.

*25th.* To see Kirby, a very noble house of my Lord Hatton's, in Northamptonshire, built *à la moderne*; the garden and stables agreeable, but the avenue ungraceful, and the seat naked: returned that evening.

*27th.* Mr. Allington preached an excellent discourse from Romans vi. 19. This was he who published those bold sermons of the members warring against the mind, or the Jews crucifying Christ, applied to the wicked regicides; for which he was ruined. We had no sermon in the afternoon.

*30th.* Taking leave of my friends, who had now feasted me more than a month, I, with my wife, etc., set our faces towards home, and got this evening to Peterborough, passing by a stately palace (Thorpe) of St. John's (one deep in the blood of our good King),<sup>2</sup> built out of the ruins of the Bishop's palace and cloister. The church is exceeding fair, full of monuments of great antiquity. Here lie Queen Catherine, the unhappy wife of Henry VIII., and the no less unfortunate Mary, Queen of Scots.<sup>3</sup> On the steeple, we viewed the

<sup>1</sup> [See *ante*, p. 87.]

<sup>2</sup> [Oliver St. John, 1598-1673, Chief Justice, and at this time Commissioner of Treasury. In 1660 he was punished for his share in the King's execution by perpetual incapacitation from office. He left England in 1662.]

<sup>3</sup> ["There was also y<sup>e</sup> 2 monuments of 2 queens, y<sup>e</sup> Catherine of Spain being Harry y<sup>e</sup> 8<sup>th</sup> queen, and also y<sup>e</sup> statute of y<sup>e</sup> queen Mary of Scotts that was both beheaded and buried

fens of Lincolnshire, now much inclosed and drained with infinite expense, and by many sluices, cuts, mounds, and ingenious mills, and the like inventions; at which the city and country about it consisting of a poor and very lazy sort of people, were much displeased.

Peterborough is a handsome town, and hath another well-built church.

*31st August.* Through part of Huntingdonshire, we passed that town, fair and ancient, a river running by it. The country about it so abounds in wheat that, when any King of England passes through it, they have a custom to meet him with a hundred ploughs.

This evening, to Cambridge; and went first to St. John's College, well built of brick, and library, which I think is the fairest of that University. One Mr. Benlowes<sup>1</sup> has given it all the ornaments of *pictra-commessa*,<sup>2</sup> whereof a table and one piece of perspective is very fine; other trifles there also be of no great value, besides a vast old song-book, or Service, and some fair manuscripts. There hangs in the library the picture of John Williams, Archbishop of York, sometime Lord Keeper, my kinsman, and their great benefactor.<sup>3</sup>

here, and there is also y<sup>e</sup> picture of an old man w<sup>th</sup> y<sup>e</sup> Inscription of y<sup>e</sup> whole matter, w<sup>ch</sup> was y<sup>e</sup> Sexton and dugg both their graves" (*Diary of Celia Fiennes* (1689-94), 1888, p. 132). Mary was beheaded at Fotheringhay Castle, February 8, 1587, after a nineteen years' captivity. James I. removed her body to Henry VII.'s Chapel in Westminster Abbey.]

<sup>1</sup> Edward Benlowes, 1603-76, a writer of verses esteemed in his time, born of a good family in Essex, and inheritor of a good estate, which he wasted by improvident liberality, and continual buying of curiosities, as Wood says. [His chief work, *Theophila; or, Love's Sacrifice*, 1652, was illustrated by Hollar and others. It is included in vol. i. of Prof. Saintsbury's *Caroline Poets*, 1905, pp. 305-472.]

<sup>2</sup> [See *ante*, vol. i. p. 142.]

<sup>3</sup> [John Williams, 1582-1650; Archbishop of York, 1641-50.



Trinity College is said by some to be the fairest quadrangle of any university in Europe; but in truth is far inferior to that of Christ Church, in Oxford; the hall is ample and of stone, the fountain in the quadrangle is graceful, the chapel and library fair. There they showed us the prophetic manuscript of the famous Grebner, but the passage and emblem which they would apply to our late King, is manifestly relating to the Swedish; in truth, it seems to be a mere fantastic rhapsody, however the title may bespeak strange revelations. There is an office in manuscript with fine miniatures, and some other antiquities, given by the Countess of Richmond, mother of Henry VIII., and the before-mentioned Archbishop Williams,<sup>1</sup> when Bishop of Lincoln. The library is pretty well stored. The Greek Professor had me into another large quadrangle cloistered and well-built, and gave us a handsome collation in his own chamber.

Thence to Caius, and afterwards to King's College, where I found the chapel altogether answered expectation, especially the roof all of stone, which for the flatness of its laying and carving may, I conceive, vie with any in Christendom. The contignation of the roof<sup>2</sup> (which I went upon), weight, and artificial joining of the stones is admirable. The lights are also very fair. In one aisle lies the famous Dr. Collins, so celebrated for his fluency in the Latin tongue.<sup>3</sup> From this roof we could descry Ely, and the encampment of Sturbridge fair now beginning to set up their tents

He had been Lord Keeper and Bishop of Lincoln in 1621. He helped to build the library of St. John's College. He was said to be "a perfect diocese in himself, bishop, dean, prebendary, and parson."

<sup>1</sup> [See *ante*, p. 94.]

<sup>2</sup> [See *ante*, vol. i. p. 146.]

<sup>3</sup> [Samuel Collins, 1576-1651; Provost of King's College, 1615; ejected in 1645 by puritans; Regius Professor of Divinity, Cambridge, 1617-51. He wrote pamphlets against Bellarmine.]

and booths;<sup>1</sup> also Royston, Newmarket, etc., houses belonging to the King. The library is too narrow.

Clare Hall is of a new and noble design, but not finished.

Peter House, formerly under the government of my worthy friend, Dr. Joseph Cosin, Dean of Peterborough;<sup>2</sup> a pretty neat college, having a delicate chapel. Next to Sidney, a fine college.

Catherine Hall, though a mean structure, is yet famous for the learned Bishop Andrews, once Master. Emmanuel College, that zealous house, where to the hall they have a parlour for the Fellows. The chapel is reformed, *ab origine*, built north and south, and meanly erected, as is the library.

Jesus College, one of the best built, but in a melancholy situation. Next to Christ College, a very noble erection, especially the modern part, built without the quadrangle towards the gardens, of exact architecture.

The Schools are very despicable, and Public Library but mean, though somewhat improved by the wainscoting and books lately added by the Bishop Bancroft's library and MSS. They showed us little of antiquity, only King James's Works, being his own gift, and kept very reverently.

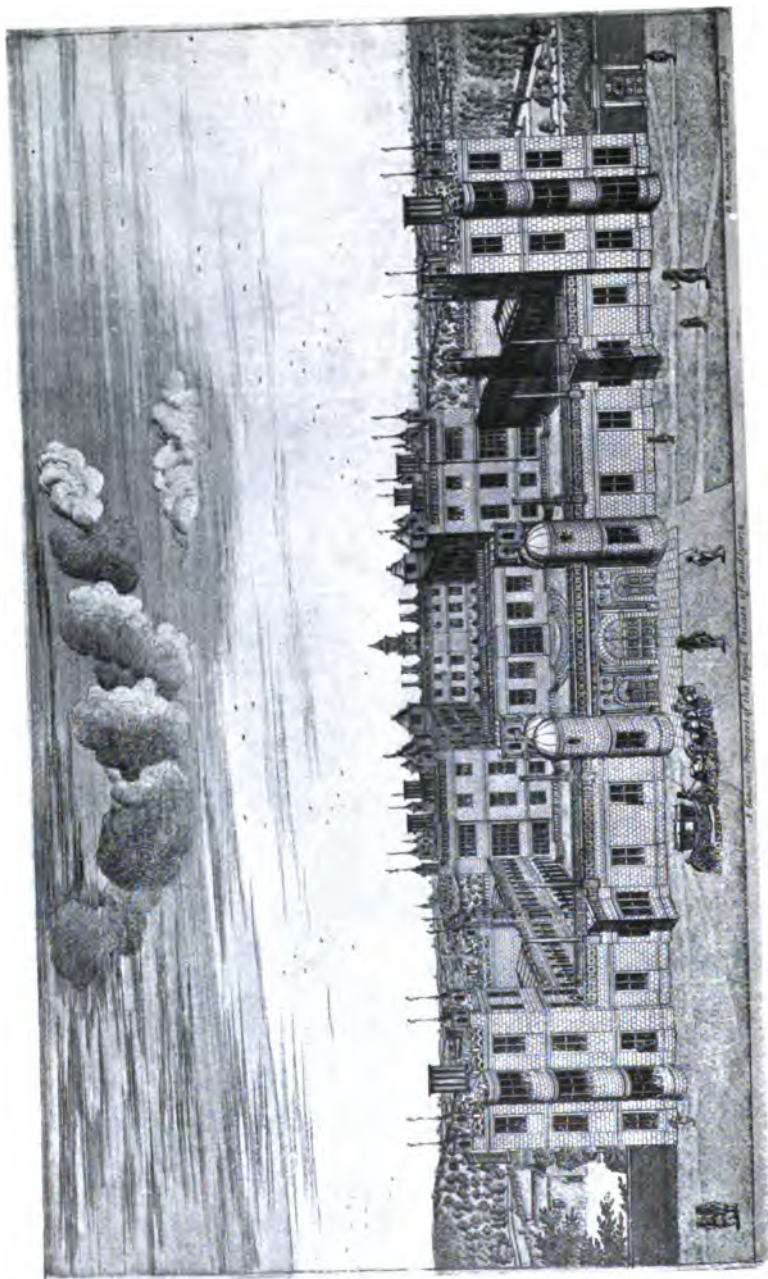
The market-place is very ample, and remarkable for old Hobson the pleasant carrier's beneficence of a fountain.<sup>3</sup> But the whole town is situate in a low dirty unpleasant place, the streets ill-paved, the air thick and infected by the fens, nor are its

<sup>1</sup> [Sturbridge Fair was one of the three great Fairs described in a proclamation of Charles I., "unto which there is usually extraordinary resort out of all parts of the kingdom." Bartholomew Fair (p. 6) and Southwark Fair (see *post*, under 13th September, 1660) were the other two.]

<sup>2</sup> [See *ante*, p. 25.]

<sup>3</sup> A conduit it should rather be called.





AUDLEY END, ESSEX

churches (of which St. Mary's is the best) anything considerable in compare to Oxford.<sup>1</sup>

From Cambridge, we went to Audley-End,<sup>2</sup> and spent some time in seeing that goodly place built by Howard, Earl of Suffolk, once Lord Treasurer. It is a mixed fabric, betwixt antique and modern, but observable for its being completely finished, and without comparison is one of the stateliest palaces in the kingdom. It consists of two courts, the first very large, winged with cloisters. The front has a double entrance; the hall is fair, but somewhat too small for so august a pile. The kitchen is very large, as are the cellars arched with stone, very neat and well disposed; these offices are joined by a wing out of the way very handsomely. The gallery is the most cheerful, and I think one of the best in England; a fair dining-room, and the rest of the lodgings answerable, with a pretty chapel. The gardens are not in order, though well inclosed. It has also a bowling-alley, a noble, well walled, wooded, and watered park, full of fine *collines* and ponds: the river glides before the palace, to which is an avenue of lime trees, but all this is much diminished by its being placed in an obscure bottom. For the rest, it is a perfectly uniform structure, and shows without like a diadem, by the decorations of the cupolas and other ornaments on the pavilions; instead of rails and balusters, there is a border of capital letters, as was lately also on Suffolk-House, near Charing-Cross, built by the same Lord Treasurer.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> As an Oxford man Evelyn was biassed.

<sup>2</sup> [Audley End, Saffron Walden, Lord Braybrooke's seat in Essex. Henry Winstanley, the architect, etched a set of *Prospects of Audley End* in 1688, which he dedicated to James II. ; and in 1836, Richard, Lord Braybrooke, published a 4to history of the house.]

<sup>3</sup> Suffolk House, Charing Cross, afterwards Northumberland

This house stands in the parish of Saffron Walden, famous for the abundance of saffron there cultivated, and esteemed the best of any foreign country.

*3rd October.* Having dined here, we passed through Bishop Stortford, a pretty watered town, and so by London, late home to Sayes Court, after a journey of 700 miles, but for the variety an agreeable refreshment after my turmoil and building.

*10th.* To my brother at Wotton, who had been sick.

*14th.* I went to visit my noble friend, Mr. Hillyard,<sup>1</sup> where I met that learned gentleman, my Lord Aungier,<sup>2</sup> and Dr. Stokes,<sup>3</sup> one of his Majesty's Chaplains.

*15th.* To Betchworth Castle,<sup>4</sup> to Sir Ambrose Browne, and other gentlemen of my sweet and native country.<sup>5</sup>

*24th.* The good old parson, Higham, preached at Wotton Church: a plain preacher, but innocent and honest man.<sup>6</sup>

House. At the funeral of Anne of Denmark, a young man was killed by the fall of the letter S from the coping of capital letters here mentioned by Evelyn (Register of Burials at St. Martin in the Fields, 1619).

<sup>1</sup> [See *ante*, p. 67.]

<sup>2</sup> Gerald, eldest son of Sir Francis Aungier, Master of the Rolls in 1609, and created Baron Aungier of Longford in the Irish Peerage in 1621. Gerald Aungier died in 1655, and was succeeded by his nephew, Francis, afterwards created Earl of Longford (1677).

<sup>3</sup> [Dr. David Stokes, 1591-1669. At this date, as a royalist, he had been despoiled of all his preferments. But he was reinstated at the Restoration.]

<sup>4</sup> [Betchworth or Beechworth Castle, on the W. bank of the Mole, near Dorking, the seat, in Evelyn's day, of Sir Ambrose Browne, who was made a baronet in 1627. It now forms part of the Deepdene. Of the Castle itself only ruins remain. The estate was bought in 1727 by Abraham Tucker ["Edward Search"], author of the *Light of Nature Pursued*, 1768-78. He died there in 1774.]

<sup>5</sup> [Query,—*county*, i.e. Surrey.]

<sup>6</sup> [See *ante*, p. 68.]

*31st October.* My birthday, being the 34th year of my age : blessing God for His providence, I went to London to visit my brother.

*23rd November.* I went to London, to visit my cousin Fanshawe,<sup>1</sup> and this day I saw one of the rarest collections of agates, onyxes, and intaglios, that I had ever seen either at home or abroad, collected by a conceited old hat-maker in Blackfriars, especially one agate vase, heretofore the great Earl of Leicester's.

*28th.* Came Lady Langham, a kinswoman of mine, to visit us ; also one Captain Cooke, esteemed the best singer, after the Italian manner, of any in England ; he entertained us with his voice and theorbo.<sup>3</sup>

*8rd December.* Advent Sunday. There being no Office at the church but extemporary prayers after the Presbyterian way, for now all forms were prohibited, and most of the preachers were usurpers, I seldom went to church upon solemn feasts ; but, either went to London, where some of the orthodox sequestered Divines did privately use the Common Prayer, administer sacraments, etc., or else I procured one to officiate in my house ; wherefore, on the 10th, Dr. Richard Owen, the sequestered minister of Eltham,<sup>2</sup> preached to my family in my library, and gave us the holy Communion.

*25th.* Christmas-day. No public offices in churches, but penalties on observers, so as I was constrained to celebrate it at home.

1654-5 : *1st January.* Having with my family performed the public offices of the day, and begged a blessing on the year I was now entering, I went

<sup>1</sup> [See *ante*, p. 51.]

<sup>2</sup> [Henry Cooke, d. 1672, at this date a teacher of music, and afterwards choirmaster of the Chapel Royal. He had been a Captain in the Royalist Army.]

<sup>3</sup> [See *ante*, p. 8.]

to keep the rest of Christmas at my brother's, R. Evelyn, at Woodcote.

*19th January.* My wife was brought to bed of another son, being my third, but second living. Christened<sup>1</sup> on the 26th by the name of John.

*28th.* A stranger preached from Colossians iii. 2, inciting our affections to the obtaining heavenly things. I understood afterwards that this man had been both Chaplain and Lieutenant to Admiral Penn,<sup>2</sup> using both swords; whether ordained or not I cannot say; into such times were we fallen!

*24th February.* I was showed a table-clock whose balance was only a crystal ball, sliding on parallel wires, without being at all fixed, but rolling from stage to stage till falling on a spring concealed from sight, it was thrown up to the utmost channel again, made with an imperceptible declivity, in this continual vicissitude of motion prettily entertaining the eye every half minute, and the next half giving progress to the hand that showed the hour, and giving notice by a small bell, so as in 120 half minutes, or periods of the bullet's falling on the ejaculatory spring, the clock-part struck. This very extraordinary piece (richly adorned) had been presented by some German Prince to our late King, and was now in possession of the Usurper; valued at £200.

*2nd March.* Mr. Simpson, the King's jeweller, showed me a most rich agate cup, of a scallop-shape, and having a figure of Cleopatra at the scroll, her body, hair, mantle, and veil, of the several natural colours. It was supported by a half Mark Antony, the colours rarely natural, and the

<sup>1</sup> At St. Nicholas, Deptford. See Lysons, *Environs of London*, 2nd ed., 1811, vol. i. part 2, p. 462.

<sup>2</sup> [Admiral, afterwards Sir William Penn, 1621-70. He fought under Blake in the first Dutch war, and captured Jamaica in this year. He was made a Commissioner of the Navy at the Restoration, and his name often occurs in Pepys.]



work truly antique, but I conceived they were of several pieces; had they been all of one stone, it were invaluable.

*18th March.* Went to London, on purpose to hear that excellent preacher, Dr. Jeremy Taylor,<sup>1</sup> on Matt. xiv. 17, showing what were the conditions of obtaining eternal life: also, concerning abatements for unavoidable infirmities, how cast on the accounts of the cross. On the 31st, I made a visit to Dr. Jeremy Taylor, to confer with him about some spiritual matters, using him thenceforward as my ghostly father. I beseech God Almighty to make me ever mindful of, and thankful for, His heavenly assistances!

*2nd April.* This was the first week, that, my uncle Pretymen<sup>2</sup> being parted with his family from me, I began housekeeping, till now sojourning with him in my own house.

*9th.* I went to see the great ship newly built by the Usurper, Oliver, carrying ninety-six brass-guns, and 1000 tons burden. In the prow was Oliver on horseback, trampling six nations under foot, a Scot, Irishman, Dutchman, Frenchman, Spaniard, and English, as was easily made out by their several habits. A Fame held a laurel over his insulting head; the word, *God with us*.

*15th.* I went to London with my family, to celebrate the feast of Easter. Dr. Wild preached at St. Gregory's;<sup>3</sup> the ruling Powers conniving at the use of the Liturgy, etc., in this church alone. In the afternoon, Mr. Pearson (since Bishop of Chester)<sup>4</sup> preached at Eastcheap, but was disturbed

<sup>1</sup> [See *ante*, p. 70.]

<sup>2</sup> [See *ante*, p. 3.]

<sup>3</sup> [Dr. George Wild, 1610-65, afterwards Bishop of Derry, 1661-65. He had kept up a religious meeting for the royalists in Fleet Street.]

<sup>4</sup> [See *ante*, p. 64. Dr. Pearson was at this date weekly preacher at St. Clement's, Eastcheap, where he was delivering the discourses afterwards forming his book on the Creed.]

by an alarm of fire, which about this time was very frequent in the City.

29th May. I sold Preston<sup>1</sup> to Colonel Morley.

17th June. There was a collection for the persecuted churches and Christians in Savoy, remnants of the ancient Albigenses.

3rd July. I was showed a pretty terrella,<sup>2</sup> described with all the circles, and showing all the magnetic deviations.

14th. Came Mr. Pratt,<sup>3</sup> my old acquaintance at Rome, also Sir Edward Hales,<sup>4</sup> Sir Joseph Tufton, with Mr. Seymour.

1st August. I went to Dorking, to see Mr. Charles Howard's amphitheatre, garden, or solitary recess,<sup>5</sup> being fifteen acres environed by a hill. He showed us divers rare plants, caves, and an laboratory.

10th. To Albury, to visit Mr. Howard,<sup>6</sup> who had begun to build, and alter the gardens much. He showed me many rare pictures, particularly the Moor on horseback; Erasmus, as big as the life, by Holbein; a Madonna, in miniature, by Oliver; but, above all, the skull carved in wood, by Albert Dürer, for which his father was offered £100; also Albert's head, by himself, with divers rare agates, intaglios, and other curiosities.

21st. I went to Reigate, to visit Mrs. Cary, at

<sup>1</sup> [See *ante*, p. 6.]

<sup>2</sup> [A terrestrial globe made of loadstone, to illustrate the direction of magnetic force on the earth. It had been in vogue since the publication of William Gilbert's *De Magnete Magneticisque Corporibus*, 1600 (Globe *Pepys*, p. 231 n.).]

<sup>3</sup> [Roger (afterwards Sir Roger) Pratt, 1620-84, the architect of Clarendon House (see *post*, under 15th October, 1664).]

<sup>4</sup> [Sir Edward Hales, Bart., d. 1695, titular Earl of Tenterden (see *post*, under 13th December, 1688).]

<sup>5</sup> [Deepdene. It now belongs to Lord Henry Francis Pelham Clinton Hope, but is at present rented by Lady William Beresford.]

<sup>6</sup> [See *ante*, vol. i. p. 312.]

my Lady Peterborough's, in an ancient monastery well in repair,<sup>1</sup> but the park much defaced; the house is nobly furnished. The chimney-piece in the great chamber, carved in wood, was of Henry VIII., and was taken from a house of his in Bletchingley. At Reigate, was now the Archbishop of Armagh, the learned James Ussher,<sup>2</sup> whom I went to visit. He received me exceeding kindly. In discourse with him, he told me how great the loss of time was to study much the Eastern languages; that, excepting Hebrew, there was little fruit to be gathered of exceeding labour; that, besides some mathematical books, the Arabic itself had little considerable; that the best text was the Hebrew Bible; that the Septuagint was finished in seventy days, but full of errors, about which he was then writing; that St. Jerome's was to be valued next the Hebrew; also that the seventy translated the Pentateuch only, the rest was finished by others; that the Italians at present understood but little Greek, and Kircher was a mountebank;<sup>3</sup> that Mr. Selden's best book was his *Titles of Honour*;<sup>4</sup> that the Church would be destroyed by sectaries, who would in all likelihood bring in Popery. In conclusion, he recommended to me the study of philology, above all human studies; and so, with his blessing, I took my leave of this excellent person, and returned to Wotton.

*27th August.* I went to Box Hill, to see those rare natural bowers, cabinets, and shady walks in the box-copses: hence we walked to Mickleham, and

<sup>1</sup> [Reigate Priory. The modern house which now occupies the site, and still preserves the chimney-piece mentioned by Evelyn, belongs to the family of Lady Henry Somerset. But Manning says the chimney-piece came from Nonsuch.]

<sup>2</sup> [See *ante*, p. 54.]

<sup>3</sup> [See *ante*, vol. i. p. 162.]

<sup>4</sup> [1614.]

saw Sir F. Stidolph's seat,<sup>1</sup> environed with elm trees and walnuts innumerable, and of which last he told us they received a considerable revenue. Here are such goodly walks and hills shaded with yew<sup>2</sup> and box, as render the place extremely agreeable, it seeming from these evergreens to be summer all the winter.

*28th August.* Came that renowned mathematician, Mr. Oughtred, to see me, I sending my coach to bring him to Wotton, being now very aged.<sup>3</sup> Amongst other discourse, he told me he thought water to be the philosopher's first matter, and that he was well persuaded of the possibility of their elixir; he believed the sun to be a material fire, the moon a continent, as appears by the late selenographers; he had strong apprehensions of some extraordinary event to happen the following year, from the calculation of coincidence with the diluvian period; and added that it might possibly be to convert the Jews by our Saviour's visible appearance, or to judge the world; and therefore, his word was, *Parate in occursum*; <sup>4</sup> he said original sin was not met with in the Greek Fathers, yet he believed the thing; this was from some discourse on Dr. Taylor's late book,<sup>5</sup> which I had lent him.

*16th September.* Preached at St. Gregory's one Darnel, on Psalm iv. 4, concerning the benefit of self-examination; more learning in *so short a time as an hour* I have seldom heard.

<sup>1</sup> [Norbury Park, then in possession of Sir Francis Stidolph, and afterwards the well-known residence of Mme. D'Arblay's friend, Mr. William Locke. The "walnuts innumerable" were all cut down by an intermediate owner, Anthony Chapman. The house now belongs to Leopold Salomons, Esq., J.P.]

<sup>2</sup> [The famous Druids' Grove, dating from Domesday Book.]

<sup>3</sup> [See *ante*, p. 68. He was eighty.]

<sup>4</sup> [Evelyn subsequently referred to this warning in a letter to Jeremy Taylor.]

<sup>5</sup> [The *Golden Grove*, anon., 1655.]

*17th September.* Received £2600 of Mr. Hurt, for the Manor of Warley Magna, in Essex, purchased by me some time since.<sup>1</sup> The taxes were so intolerable that they eat up the rents, etc., surcharged as that county had been above all others during our unnatural war.

*19th.* Came to see me Sir Edward Hales,<sup>2</sup> Mr. Ashmole,<sup>3</sup> Mr. Harlakenton, and Mr. Thornhill: and, the next day, I visited Sir Henry Newton, at Charlton,<sup>4</sup> where I met the Earl of Winchelsea,<sup>5</sup> and Lady Beauchamp, daughter to the Lord Capel.

On Sunday afternoon, I frequently staid at home to catechise and instruct my family, those exercises universally ceasing in the parish churches, so as people had no principles, and grew very ignorant of even the common points of Christianity; all devotion being now placed in hearing sermons and discourses of speculative and notional things.

*26th.* I went to see Colonel Blount's subterranean warren,<sup>6</sup> and drank of the wine of his vineyard, which was good for little.

*31st [sic].* Sir Nicholas Crisp came to treat with me about his vast design of a mole<sup>7</sup> to be made for ships in part of my grounds at Sayes Court.

*3rd November.* I had accidentally discourse with a Persian and a Greek concerning the devastation of Poland by the late incursion of the Swedes.

*27th.* To London, about Sir Nicholas Crisp's designs.

I went to see York House and gardens, belonging

<sup>1</sup> [See *ante*, p. 11.]

<sup>2</sup> [See *ante*, p. 102.]

<sup>3</sup> [Elias Ashmole, 1617-92, the antiquary (see *post*, under 17th September, 1657).]

<sup>4</sup> [See *ante*, p. 56.]

<sup>5</sup> [Heneage Finch, second Earl of Winchelsea, *d.* 1689 (see *post*, under 18th June, 1660).]

<sup>6</sup> [See *ante*, p. 60.]

<sup>7</sup> [Sir Nicholas Crisp, customs farmer, 1599-1666. See *post*, under 16th January, 1662. He was made a baronet this year.]

to the former great Buckingham, but now much ruined through neglect.<sup>1</sup>

Thence, to visit honest and learned Mr. Hartlib,<sup>2</sup> a public-spirited and ingenious person, who had propagated many useful things and arts. He told me of the castles which they set for ornament on their stoves in Germany (he himself being a Lithuanian, as I remember), which are furnished with small ordnance of silver on the battlements, out of which they discharge excellent perfumes about the rooms, charging them with a little powder to set them on fire, and disperse the smoke : and, in truth, no more than need, for their stoves are sufficiently nasty. He told me of an ink that would give a dozen copies, moist sheets of paper being pressed on it, and remain perfect ; and a receipt how to take off any print without the least injury to the original. This gentleman was master of innumerable curiosities, and very communicative. I returned home that evening by water, and was afflicted for it with a cold that had almost killed me.

This day, came forth the Protector's Edict, or Proclamation, prohibiting all ministers of the Church of England from preaching or teaching any schools,<sup>3</sup> in which he imitated the apostate, Julian ;

<sup>1</sup> [George Villiers, first Duke of the second creation, 1592-1628. York House at this date belonged to General Fairfax, to whom it had been given by Cromwell ; and Fairfax's daughter Mary married the second and last Duke of the Villiers family in September, 1657. The first Duke's names and titles are still preserved in the buildings erected on the site of York House : as George Street, Villiers Street, Duke Street, Of Alley (now York Place), and Buckingham Street.]

<sup>2</sup> [Samuel Hartlib, *d.* 1670, a Pole, and friend of Milton. He wrote a *Discours of Husbandrie used in Brabant and Flanders*, 1652, etc. His life was written in 1865, with a bibliography and notices of his works, by the late Henry Dircks. He is often mentioned in Evelyn's *Correspondence*.]

<sup>3</sup> ["This," says the *Annals of England*, 1876, p. 451, was "the only resource left to the majority." See *infra*, 25th December.]

with the decimation of all the royal party's revenues throughout England.<sup>1</sup>

14th December. I visited Mr. Hobbes, the famous philosopher of Malmesbury, with whom I had been long acquainted in France.<sup>2</sup>

Now were the Jews admitted.<sup>3</sup>

25th. There was no more notice taken of Christmas-day in churches.

I went to London, where Dr. Wild<sup>4</sup> preached the funeral sermon of Preaching, this being the last day; after which, Cromwell's proclamation was to take place, that none of the Church of England should dare either to preach, or administer Sacraments, teach schools, etc., on pain of imprisonment, or exile. So this was the mournfullest day that in my life I had seen, or the Church of England herself, since the Reformation; to the great rejoicing of both Papist and Presbyter.<sup>5</sup> So pathetic was his discourse, that it drew many tears from the auditory. Myself, wife, and some of our family, received the Communion; God make me thankful, who hath hitherto provided for us the food of our souls as well as bodies! The Lord Jesus pity our distressed Church, and bring back the captivity of Zion!

1655-6: 5th January. Came to visit me my Lord Lisle, son to the Earl of Leicester,<sup>6</sup> with Sir

<sup>1</sup> [This was extended to all who had ever borne arms for the King.]

<sup>2</sup> [See *ante*, p. 39.]

<sup>3</sup> [They had been expelled in 1290. But Evelyn is wrong in saying they were now admitted. No formal decision was come to, but they began to settle again in small numbers in 1657.]

<sup>4</sup> [See *ante*, p. 101.]

<sup>5</sup> The text was 2 Cor. xiii. 9. That, however persecution dealt with the Ministers of God's Word, they were still to pray for the flock, and wish their perfection, as it was [for] the flock to pray for and assist their pastors, by the example of St. Paul.—*Evelyn's Note.*

<sup>6</sup> [See *post*, under 27th August, 1678.]

Charles Ouseley, two of the Usurper's council; Mr. John Hervey,<sup>1</sup> and John Denham, the poet.<sup>2</sup>

*18th January.* Went to Eltham<sup>3</sup> on foot, being a great frost, but a mist falling as I returned, gave me such a rheum as kept me within doors near a whole month after.

*5th February.* Was showed me a pretty perspective and well represented in a triangular box, the great Church of Haarlem in Holland, to be seen through a small hole at one of the corners, and contrived into a handsome cabinet. It was so rarely done, that all the artists and painters in town flocked to see and admire it.

*10th.* I heard Dr. Wilkins<sup>4</sup> preach before the Lord Mayor in St. Paul's, showing how obedience was preferable to sacrifice. He was a most obliging person, who had married the Protector's sister,<sup>5</sup> and took great pains to preserve the Universities from the ignorant sacrilegious commanders and soldiers, who would fain have demolished all places and persons that pretended to learning.

*11th.* I ventured to go to Whitehall, where of many years I had not been, and found it very glorious and well furnished, as far as I could safely go, and was glad to find they had not much defaced that rare piece of Henry VII., etc., done on the walls of the King's privy chamber.

*14th.* I dined with Mr. Berkeley, son of Lord Berkeley, of Berkeley Castle, where I renewed my acquaintance with my Lord Bruce, my fellow-traveller in Italy.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> [John Hervey, 1616-79, afterwards Treasurer to Catherine of Braganza, and patron of Abraham Cowley.]

<sup>2</sup> [See *ante*, p. 70.]

<sup>3</sup> [See *post*, p. 110.]

<sup>4</sup> [See *ante*, p. 76.]

<sup>5</sup> [Robina French, *née* Cromwell.]

<sup>6</sup> [See *ante*, vol. i. p. 297.]



**19th February.** Went with Dr. Wilkins to see Barlow, the famous painter of fowls, beasts, and birds.<sup>1</sup>

**4th March.** This night I was invited by Mr. Roger L'Estrange<sup>2</sup> to hear the incomparable Lubicer on the violin. His variety on a few notes, and plain ground, with that wonderful dexterity, was admirable. Though a young man, yet so perfect and skilful, that there was nothing, however cross and perplexed, brought to him by our artists, which he did not play off at sight with ravishing sweetness and improvements, to the astonishment of our best masters. In sum, he played on the single instrument a full concert, so as the rest flung down their instruments, acknowledging the victory. As to my own particular, I stand to this hour amazed that God should give so great perfection to so young a person. There were at that time as excellent in their profession as any were thought to be in Europe, Paul Wheeler, Mr. Mell, and others, till this prodigy appeared. I can no longer question the effects we read of in David's harp to charm evil spirits, or what is said some particular

<sup>1</sup> Francis Barlow, 1626-1702. His most famous work is his *Fables of Æsop*, 1665. He occasionally painted portraits.

<sup>2</sup> Afterwards knighted; and licenser of the press to Charles II., and James II., in whose Parliament he was returned for Winchester. He was the author of several works, chiefly translations; was a fierce and reckless advocate of high Church principles; and established a newspaper called the *Public Intelligencer*, which he afterwards changed to *London Gazette*, and ultimately to a paper called the *Observer*, 1681-87 (see *post*, under 7th May, 1685). Pepys (17th December, 1664) describes him as "a man of fine conversation," "most courtly, and full of compliments"; but seeking his society for the purpose of obtaining news. He was known among the courtiers as "Oliver's fiddler," owing to a report, which he strenuously denied, that he had once played the violin in the presence of the Protector. Queen Mary had a great antipathy to him, and, by rearranging the letters of his name, gave him the appellation of "Lying Strange Roger." He was born in 1616, and died in 1704.

notes produced in the passions of Alexander, and that King of Denmark.

12th April. Mr. Berkeley and Mr. Robert Boyle (that excellent person and great virtuoso),<sup>1</sup> Dr. Taylor, and Dr. Wilkins, dined with me at Sayes Court, when I presented Dr. Wilkins with my rare burning-glass. In the afternoon, we all went to Colonel Blount's, to see his new-invented ploughs.<sup>2</sup>

22nd. Came to see Mr. Henshaw and Sir William Paston's son, since Earl of Yarmouth.<sup>3</sup> Afterwards, I went to see his Majesty's house at Eltham, both palace and chapel in miserable ruins, the noble woods and park destroyed by Rich, the rebel.<sup>4</sup>

6th May. I brought Monsieur le Franc, a young French Sorbonnist, a proselyte, to converse with Dr. Taylor; they fell to dispute on original sin, in Latin, upon a book newly published by the Doctor, who was much satisfied with the young man. Thence, to see Mr. Dugdale, our learned antiquary and herald.<sup>5</sup> Returning, I was showed the three vast volumes of Father Kircher's, *Obeliscus Pamphilius* and *Ægyptiacus*; in the second volume, I found the hieroglyphic I first communicated and sent to him at Rome by the hands of Mr. Henshaw, whom he mentions; I

<sup>1</sup> The Hon. Robert Boyle, 1627-91, fifth surviving son of Richard Boyle, styled "the great Earl of Cork," and a distinguished natural philosopher and chemist. His name occurs frequently in the *Diary*. <sup>2</sup> [See *ante*, p. 105.]

<sup>3</sup> Sir Robert Paston, Bart., 1631-83, who obtained great reputation as a Royalist commander, and for whose services Charles II., in 1673, created him Viscount Yarmouth. In 1679 he was made first Earl of Yarmouth.

<sup>4</sup> [Nathanael Rich, *d.* 1701, to whom it had been sold by the Parliament.]

<sup>5</sup> [William (afterwards Sir William) Dugdale, 1605-86, at this date Chester Herald, and co-author of the first volume of *Monasticon Anglicanum*.]

designed it from the stone itself brought me to Venice from Cairo by Captain Powell.<sup>1</sup>

*7th May.* I visited Dr. Taylor, and prevailed on him to propose Monsieur le Franc to the Bishop that he might have Orders, I having sometime before brought him to a full consent to the Church of England, her doctrine and discipline, in which he had till of late made some difficulty; so he was this day ordained both deacon and priest by the Bishop of Meath. I paid the fees to his lordship, who was very poor and in great want; to that necessity were our clergy reduced! In the afternoon, I met Alderman Robinson, to treat with Mr. Papillion about the marriage of my cousin, George Tuke, with Mrs. Fontaine.

*8th.* I went to visit Dr. Wilkins, at Whitehall, when I first met with Sir P. Neile,<sup>2</sup> famous for his optic glasses. Greatorex,<sup>3</sup> the mathematical-instrument maker, showed me his excellent invention to quench fire.

*12th.* Was published my Essay on Lucretius,<sup>4</sup> with innumerable errata by the negligence of Mr.

<sup>1</sup> See *ante*, vol. i. p. 309.

<sup>2</sup> [Sir Paul Neile, of White Waltham, Berks, eldest son of Richard Neile, Archbishop of York. Pepys mentions him under 10th January, 1662, and elsewhere.]

<sup>3</sup> [Ralph Greatorex, *d.* 1712? He was also well known to Pepys.]

<sup>4</sup> "*An Essay on the First Book of T. Lucretius Carus de Rerum Natura.* Interpreted and made English verse by J. Evelyn, Esq. London, 1656." The frontispiece was designed by Mrs. Evelyn, and engraved by Hollar. Prefixed to the copy in the library at Wotton House, is this note in Evelyn's own handwriting: "Never was book so abominably misus'd by printer: never copy so negligently surveied by one who undertooke to looke over the prooffe-sheets with all exactnesse and care, namely Dr. Triplet, well knowne for his abilitie, and who pretended to oblige me in my absence, and so readily offer'd himselfe. This good yet I receiv'd by it, that publishing it vainely, its ill successe at the printer's discourag'd me with troubling the worlde with the rest."

Triplet, who undertook the correction of the press in my absence. Little of the Epicurean philosophy was then known amongst us.

*28th May.* I dined with Nieuport, the Holland Ambassador, who received me with extraordinary courtesy. I found him a judicious, crafty, and wise man. He gave me excellent cautions as to the danger of the times, and the circumstances our nation was in. I remember the observation he made upon the ill success of our former Parliaments, and their private animosities, and little care of the public.

Came to visit me the old Marquis of Argyll (since executed),<sup>1</sup> Lord Lothian, and some other Scotch noblemen, all strangers to me. Note, the Marquis took the turtle-doves in the aviary for owls.

The Earl of Southampton (since Treasurer)<sup>2</sup> and Mr. Spencer, brother to the Earl of Sunderland,<sup>3</sup> came to see my garden.

*7th July.* I began my journey to see some parts of the north-east of England; but the weather was so excessive hot and dusty, I shortened my progress.

<sup>1</sup> Archibald Campbell, eighth Earl, 1598-1661. He was created Marquis of Argyll in 1641. In the subsequent troubles he took his place at the head of the Scotch Covenanters, and did so much damage to Charles I.'s cause, that the wrong was not considered to have been expiated by his subsequent proclamation of Charles II. Evelyn, who knew him well, calls him a "turbulent" man; and at the Restoration, having been convicted of high treason, he had his head struck off by the Maiden, at the market-cross of Edinburgh, on the 27th of May, 1661.

<sup>2</sup> Thomas Wriothesley, fourth Earl of Southampton, 1607-67, a distinguished royalist, who at the Restoration was appointed Lord High Treasurer. His second daughter, Rachel, was the wife of the patriot, Lord William Russell. He married three times; but dying without male issue, all his honours became extinct. Evelyn enjoyed much of his hospitality, and characterises him as a person of extraordinary parts, but a valetudinarian.

<sup>3</sup> [See *post*, under 15th July, 1669.]

*8th July.* To Colchester, a fair town, but now wretchedly demolished by the late siege,<sup>1</sup> especially the suburbs, which were all burnt, but were then repairing. The town is built on a rising ground, having fair meadows on one side, and a river with a strong ancient castle, said to have been built by King Coilus, father of Helena, mother of Constantine the Great, of whom I find no memory save at the pinnacle of one of their wool-staple houses, where is a statue of Coilus, in wood, wretchedly carved. The walls are exceeding strong, deeply trenched, and filled with earth. It has six gates, and some watch-towers, and some handsome churches. But what was showed us as a kind of miracle, at the outside of the Castle, [was] the wall where Sir Charles Lucas and Sir George Lisle, those valiant and noble persons who so bravely behaved themselves in the last siege,<sup>2</sup> were barbarously shot, murdered by Ireton in cold blood, after surrendering on articles; having been disappointed of relief from the Scotch army, which had been defeated with the King at Worcester. The place was bare of grass for a large space, all the rest of it abounding with herbage. For the rest, this is a ragged and factious town, now swarming with sectaries. Their trading is in cloth with the Dutch, and baize and says<sup>3</sup> with Spain; it is the only place in England where these stuffs are made unsophisticated. It is also famous for oysters<sup>4</sup> and eringo root, growing hereabout, and candied for sale.

<sup>1</sup> [In 1648. See *ante*, p. 5.]

<sup>2</sup> [See *ante*, p. 52.]

<sup>3</sup> [“‘They [the Dutch] were the first that brought into the nation the art of making those slight stuffs call’d *Bays* and *Says* and other Linnen and Woollen-cloths of the same kind.’ This manufacture principally settled at Colchester and its vicinity, and for a long period flourished exceedingly” (Beck’s *Draper’s Dictionary*, *s.v.* The quotation is said to be from the *History of Britain*, 1670).]

<sup>4</sup> [Which are also referred to by Celia Fiennes. “This town

Went to Dedham, a pretty country town, having a very fair church, finely situated, the valley well watered. Here, I met with Dr. Stokes, a young gentleman, but an excellent mathematician. This is a clothing town, as most are in Essex, but lies in the unwholesome hundreds.

Hence to Ipswich, doubtless one of the sweetest, most pleasant, well-built towns in England. It has twelve fair churches, many noble houses, especially the Lord Devereux's; a brave quay, and commodious harbour, being about seven miles from the main; an ample market-place. Here was born the great Cardinal Wolsey, who began a palace here, which was not finished.

I had the curiosity to visit some Quakers here in prison; a new fanatic sect,<sup>1</sup> of dangerous principles, who show no respect to any man, magistrate, or other, and seem a melancholy, proud sort of people, and exceedingly ignorant. One of these was said to have fasted twenty days; but another, endeavouring to do the like, perished on the 10th, when he would have eaten, but could not.<sup>2</sup>

10th July. I returned homeward, passing again through Colchester; and, by the way, near the ancient town of Chelmsford, saw New Hall, built in a park by Henry VII. and VIII., and given by Queen Elizabeth to the Earl of Sussex, who sold it

is remarkable . . . for Exceeding good oysters, but its a dear place and to Grattifye my Curiosity to Eate them on y<sup>e</sup> place I paid dear" (*Diary* (1689-94), 1888, p. 116).]

<sup>1</sup> [They began in England about 1646; and received their name in 1650 from Justice Bennet of Derby, "who," says Fox, "was the first that called us Quakers, because I bid them tremble at the name of the Lord." In 1655, Fox "gave forth a paper to those that made a scorn of trembling and quaking" (*George Fox's Journal*, abridged by P. L. Parker, 1903, pp. 48, 147).]

<sup>2</sup> [Fox certainly fasted. "I fasted much"—he writes in 1647; and in 1653, "about this time I was in a fast for about ten days" (*Journal ut supra*, pp. 11, 111).]

to the late great Duke of Buckingham, and since seized on by Oliver Cromwell (pretended Protector).<sup>1</sup> It is a fair old house, built with brick, low, being only of two stories, as the manner then was; the gate-house better; the court, large and pretty; the staircase, of extraordinary wideness, with a piece representing Sir Francis Drake's action in the year 1580, an excellent sea-piece; the galleries are trifling; the hall is noble; the garden a fair plot, and the whole seat well accommodated with water; but, above all, I admired the fair avenue planted with stately lime trees, in four rows, for near a mile in length. It has three descents, which is the only fault, and may be reformed. There is another fair walk of the same at the mall and wilderness, with a tennis-court, and pleasant terrace towards the park, which was well stored with deer and ponds.

*11th July.* Came home by Greenwich ferry, where I saw Sir J. Winter's<sup>2</sup> project of charring sea-coal, to burn out the sulphur, and render it sweet. He did it by burning the coals in such earthen pots as the glass-men melt their metal, so firing them without consuming them, using a bar of iron in each crucible, or pot, which bar has a hook at one end, that so the coals being melted in a furnace with other crude sea-coals under them, may be drawn out of the pots sticking to the iron, whence they are beaten off in great half-exhausted cinders, which being re-kindled, make a clear pleasant chamber-fire, deprived of their sulphur and arsenic malignity. What success it may have, time will discover.

<sup>1</sup> [Cromwell exchanged New Hall for Hampton Court. At the Restoration, it reverted to the second Duke of Buckingham, who sold it to Monck. In 1892, it was a Roman Catholic Nunnery.]

<sup>2</sup> [Sir John Winter, 1600-73, secretary to Henrietta Maria, and an active Royalist, employed his leisure in the production of coke, for which, after the Restoration, he obtained a monopoly.]

*3rd August.* I went to London, to receive the Blessed Sacrament, the first time the Church of England was reduced to a chamber and conventicle ; so sharp was the persecution. The parish-churches were filled with sectaries of all sorts, blasphemous and ignorant mechanics usurping the pulpits everywhere.<sup>1</sup> Dr. Wild<sup>2</sup> preached in a private house in Fleet-street, where we had a great meeting of zealous Christians, who were generally much more devout and religious than in our greatest prosperity. In the afternoon, I went to the French Church in the Savoy,<sup>3</sup> where I heard Monsieur d'Espagne catechise, and so returned to my house.

*20th.* Was a confused election of Parliament called by the Usurper.

*7th September.* I went to take leave of my excellent neighbour and friend, Sir H. Newton and lady,<sup>4</sup> now going to dwell at Warwick ; and Mr. Needham, my dear and learned friend, came to visit me.<sup>5</sup>

*14th.* Now was old Sir Henry Vane<sup>6</sup> sent to Carisbrooke Castle, in Wight, for a foolish book he published ; the pretended Protector fortifying himself exceedingly, and sending many to prison.

*2nd October.* Came to visit me my cousin Stephens,<sup>7</sup> and Mr. Pierce (since Head of Magdalen College, Oxford),<sup>8</sup> a learned minister of Brington, in

<sup>1</sup> [See *ante*, p. 69.]

<sup>2</sup> [See *ante*, p. 101.]

<sup>3</sup> [From this it would seem that there was a "French Church in the Savoy" before that established by Charles II. in 1661 (Wheatley and Cunningham's *London*, 1891, iii. 218).]

<sup>4</sup> [See *ante*, p. 105.]

<sup>5</sup> Jasper Needham, *d.* 1679, a physician of great repute, and one of Evelyn's oldest friends (see *post*, under 4th November, 1679).

<sup>6</sup> [The younger, 1613-62. The old Sir Harry Vane died in this year. The "foolish book," to which Evelyn refers, was an able and fearless attack on Cromwell's arbitrary government.]

<sup>7</sup> [See *ante*, p. 66.]

<sup>8</sup> [Dr. Thomas Pierce, 1622-91, President of Magdalen College, Oxford, 1661-72 ; and Dean of Salisbury, 1675.]



Northamptonshire, and Captain Cooke,<sup>1</sup> both excellent musicians.

*2nd November.* There was now nothing practical preached, or that pressed reformation of life, but high and speculative points and strains that few understood, which left people very ignorant, and of no steady principles, the source of all our sects and divisions, for there was much envy and uncharity in the world; God of his mercy amend it! Now, indeed, that I went at all to church, whilst these usurpers possessed the pulpits, was that I might not be suspected for a Papist, and that, though the minister was Presbyterianly affected, he yet was as I understood duly ordained, and preached sound doctrine after their way, and besides was an humble, harmless, and peaceable man.

*25th December.* I went to London, to receive the Blessed Communion this holy festival at Dr. Wild's lodgings,<sup>2</sup> where I rejoiced to find so full an assembly of devout and sober Christians.

*26th.* I invited some of my neighbours and tenants, according to custom, and to preserve hospitality and charity.

*28th.* A stranger preached on Luke xviii. 7, 8, on which he made a confused discourse, with a great deal of Greek and ostentation of learning, to but little purpose.

*30th.* Dined with me Sir William Paston's son,<sup>3</sup> Mr. Henshaw,<sup>4</sup> and Mr. Clayton.<sup>5</sup>

*31st.* I begged God's blessing and mercies for his goodness to me the past year, and set my domestic affairs in order.

1656-7: *1st January.* Having prayed with my family, and celebrated the anniversary, I spent

<sup>1</sup> [See *ante*, p. 99.]

<sup>2</sup> [See *ante*, p. 116.]

<sup>3</sup> [Sir Robert (see *ante*, p. 110).]

<sup>4</sup> [See *ante*, vol. i. p. 135.]

<sup>5</sup> [See *post*, under 3rd July, 1677.]

some time in imploring God's blessing [for] the year I was entered into.

*7th January.* Came Mr. Matthew Wren<sup>1</sup> (since secretary to the Duke, slain in the Dutch war), eldest son to the Bishop of Ely, now a prisoner in the Tower; a most worthy and learned gentleman.

*10th.* Came Dr. Joyliffe,<sup>2</sup> that famous physician and anatomist, first detector of the lymphatic veins; also the old Marquis of Argyll, and another Scotch Earl.

*5th February.* Dined at the Holland Ambassador's;<sup>3</sup> he told me the East India Company of Holland had constantly a stock of £400,000 in India, and forty-eight men-of-war there: he spoke of their exact and just keeping their books and correspondence, so as no adventurer's stock could possibly be lost, or defeated; that it was a vulgar error that the Hollanders furnished their enemies with powder and ammunition for their money, though engaged in a cruel war, but that they used to merchandise indifferently, and were permitted to sell to the friends of their enemies. He laughed at our Committee of Trade,<sup>4</sup> as composed of men wholly ignorant of it, and how they were the ruin of commerce, by gratifying some for private ends.

*10th.* I went to visit the Governor of Havannah, a brave, sober, valiant Spanish gentleman, taken by Captain Young of Deptford,<sup>5</sup> when, after twenty years being in the Indies, and amassing great wealth, his lady and whole family, except two sons, were burnt, destroyed, and taken within sight of Spain, his eldest son, daughter, and wife, perishing with immense treasure.<sup>6</sup> One son, of

<sup>1</sup> [Matthew Wren, 1629-72; secretary to Clarendon, 1660-67.]

<sup>2</sup> [See *ante*, p. 9.]

<sup>3</sup> [See *ante*, p. 112.]

<sup>4</sup> [See *post*, under 28th February, 1671.]

<sup>5</sup> [D. 1693.]

<sup>6</sup> [Waller refers to this (with variations) in his poem *Of a War with Spain, and Fight at Sea* (*Works*, by Fenton, 1744, p. 121).]

about seventeen years old, with his brother of one year old, were the only ones saved. The young gentleman, about seventeen, was a well-complexioned youth, not olive-coloured; he spake Latin handsomely, was extremely well-bred, and born in the Caraccas, 1000 miles south of the equinoctial, near the mountains of Potosi; he had never been in Europe before. The Governor was an ancient gentleman of great courage, of the order of St. Jago, sore wounded in his arm, and his ribs broken; he lost for his own share £100,000 sterling, which he seemed to bear with exceeding indifference, and nothing dejected. After some discourse, I went with them to Arundel-House, where they dined. They were now going back into Spain, having obtained their liberty from Cromwell. An example of human vicissitude!

*14th February.* To London, where I found Mrs. Cary; next day came Mr. Mordaunt<sup>1</sup> (since Viscount Mordaunt), younger son to the Countess of Peterborough, to see his mistress, bringing with him two of my Lord of Dover's daughters:<sup>2</sup> so, after dinner, they all departed.

<sup>1</sup> John Mordaunt, 1627-75, second son of John, fifth Baron Mordaunt, and first Earl of Peterborough. He was a zealous Royalist; an offence for which he was tried, and, as Evelyn relates (see *post*, under 31st March, 1658), acquitted by one vote under the Commonwealth. Nevertheless, he still exerted himself to bring back Charles II., who, in 1659, created him Baron Mordaunt of Reigate, and Viscount Mordaunt of Avalon, in Somerset, and appointed him Constable of Windsor Castle, and *Custos Rotulorum* of the County of Surrey. Many charges were afterwards brought against him in connection with his command at Windsor (see *post*, under 23rd November, 1666). With his mother and his wife, Evelyn was extremely intimate, frequently mentioning both with enthusiasm; and taking an active part, as many passages of the *Diary* will show, in the business affairs of the family.

<sup>2</sup> Henry Carey, fourth Baron Hunsdon, created Viscount Rochford and Earl of Dover, *d.* 1668, had three daughters—Mary, married to Sir Thomas Wharton; Judith; and Philadelphia.

5th March. Dr. Rand, a learned physician, dedicated to me his version of Gassendi's *Vita Peireiskii*.<sup>1</sup>

25th. Dr. Taylor showed me his MS. of Cases of Conscience, or *Ductor Dubitantium*, now fitted for the Press.<sup>2</sup>

The Protector Oliver, now affecting kingship, is petitioned to take the title on him by all his new-made sycophant lords, etc. ; but dares not, for fear of the fanatics, not thoroughly purged out of his rebel army.

21st April. Came Sir Thomas Hanmer of Hanmer, in Wales,<sup>3</sup> to see me. I then waited on my Lord Hatton,<sup>4</sup> with whom I dined: at my return, I stepped into Bedlam, where I saw several poor miserable creatures in chains; one of them was mad with making verses. I also visited the Charter-house, formerly belonging to the Carthusians, now an old neat fresh solitary college for decayed gentlemen.<sup>5</sup> It has a grove, bowling-green, garden, chapel, and a hall where they eat in common. I likewise saw Christ-church and Hospital,<sup>6</sup> a very goodly Gothic building; the hall, school, and lodgings in great order for bringing up

<sup>1</sup> ["*The Mirrour of True Nobility & Gentility*, being Pierre Gassendi's Life of Nicolas Claude Fabri de Peiresc, 'englished by W[illiam] Rand, Doctor of Physick,' 1657." Gassendi's book was first published at Paris in 1641. Rand's kinsman, Dr. R. Rand, had attended Evelyn's mother (see *ante*, vol. i. p. 12).]

<sup>2</sup> [The *Ductor Dubitantium* was not published until 1660.]

<sup>3</sup> [Sir Thomas Hanmer, second Baronet, *d.* 1678. He had lived long in France, from which he had returned in 1652 or 1653. His portrait by Vandyck (see *post*, under 24th January, 1685) was, in 1838, in the possession of Sir H. Bunbury, Bart.]

<sup>4</sup> [See *ante*, p. 13 n.]

<sup>5</sup> [Purchased by Thomas Sutton of Camp's Castle in 1611, and endowed by him as a Charity under the name of "the Hospital of King James."]

<sup>6</sup> [Founded by Edward VI., 1553, now called the Blue Coat School (see *post*, under 10th March, 1687).]

many hundreds of poor children of both sexes; it is an exemplary charity. There is a large picture at one end of the hall, representing the governors, founders, and the institution.<sup>1</sup>

*25th April.* I had a dangerous fall out of the coach in Covent Garden, going to my brother's, but without harm; the Lord be praised!

*1st May.* Divers soldiers were quartered at my house; but I thank God went away the next day towards Flanders.

*5th.* I went with my cousin, George Tuke, to see Baynards, in Surrey, a house of my brother Richard's, which he would have hired. This is a very fair noble residence, built in a park, and having one of the goodliest avenues of oaks up to it that ever I saw: there is a pond<sup>2</sup> of 60 acres near it; the windows of the chief rooms are of very fine painted glass. The situation is excessively dirty and melancholy.<sup>3</sup>

*15th.* Lawrence, President of Oliver's Council, and some other of his Court-Lords, came in the afternoon to see my garden and plantations.

*7th June.* My fourth son was born, christened George (after my grandfather); Dr. Jeremy Taylor officiated in the drawing-room.

*18th.* At Greenwich I saw a sort of cat<sup>4</sup> brought from the East Indies, shaped and snouted much like the Egyptian racoon, in the body like a monkey, and so footed; the ears and tail like a

<sup>1</sup> [Edward VI. granting the Charter; long erroneously attributed to Holbein.]

<sup>2</sup> [Vachery Water,—the reservoir of the Wey and Arun Canal.]

<sup>3</sup> It is in the lower part of the parish of Ewhurst in Surrey, adjoining to Rudgwick in Sussex, in a deep clay soil. The residence belonged formerly to Sir Edward Bray, and afterwards to the Earl of Onslow, who carried the painted glass to his seat at West Clandon. It has now been restored.

<sup>4</sup> This was probably the *Lemur macaco* of Linnæus, since well known.

cat, only the tail much longer, and the skin variously ringed with black and white; with the tail it wound up its body like a serpent, and so got up into trees, and with it would wrap its whole body round. Its hair was woolly like a lamb; it was exceedingly nimble, gentle, and purred as does the cat.

16th July. On Dr. Jeremy Taylor's recommendation, I went to Eltham, to help one Moody, a young man, to that living, by my interest with the patron.

6th August. I went to see Colonel Blount, who showed me the application of the way-wiser<sup>1</sup> to a coach, exactly measuring the miles, and showing them by an index as we went on. It had three circles, one pointing to the number of rods, another to the miles, by 10 to 1000, with all the subdivisions of quarters; very pretty and useful.

10th. Our vicar,<sup>2</sup> from John xviii. 36, declaimed against the folly of a sort of enthusiasts and desperate zealots, called the *Fifth-Monarchy-Men*,<sup>3</sup> pretending to set up the kingdom of Christ with the sword. To this pass was this age arrived when we had no King in Israel.

21st. Fell a most prodigious rain in London, and the year was very sickly in the country.

1st September. I visited Sir Edmund Bowyer,<sup>4</sup> at his melancholy seat at Camberwell. He has a very pretty grove of oaks, and hedges of yew in

<sup>1</sup> [See *ante*, p. 80. In this particular form, the waywiser seems to have been called an adometer.]

<sup>2</sup> [See *ante*, p. 65. His name was Thomas Mallory.]

<sup>3</sup> [They regarded the protectorate of Cromwell as inaugurating a Fifth Monarchy—Assyria, Persia, Greece, and Rome being the other four—during which Jesus Christ would reign visibly for a thousand years. One of the "Characters" in Butler's *Genuine Remains*, 1759, pp. 101-3, is that of "A Fifth-Monarchy Man."]

<sup>4</sup> [See *post*, under 17th July, 1667.]

his garden, and a handsome row of tall elms before his court.

15th September. Going to London with some company, we stept in to see a famous rope-dancer, called *the Turk*.<sup>1</sup> I saw even to astonishment the agility with which he performed. He walked barefooted, taking hold by his toes only of a rope almost perpendicular, and without so much as touching it with his hands; he danced blindfold on the high rope, and with a boy of twelve years old tied to one of his feet about twenty feet beneath him,<sup>2</sup> dangling as he danced, yet he moved as nimbly as if it had been but a feather. Lastly, he stood on his head, on the top of a very high mast, danced on a small rope that was very slack, and finally flew down the perpendicular, on his breast, his head foremost, his legs and arms extended, with divers other activities.—I saw the hairy woman,<sup>3</sup> twenty years old, whom I had before seen when a child. She was born at Augsburg, in Germany. Her very eye-brows were combed upwards, and all her forehead as thick and even as grows on any woman's head, neatly dressed; a very long lock of hair out of each ear; she had also a most prolix beard, and moustachios, with long locks growing on the middle of her nose, like an Iceland dog exactly, the colour of a bright brown, fine as well-dressed flax. She was now married, and told me she had one child that was not hairy, nor were any of her parents, or relations. She was very well shaped, and played well on the harpsichord.

<sup>1</sup> Evelyn again mentions this tumbler in his *Numismata*, 1697, under the name of the *Funamble Turk*.

<sup>2</sup> [This was the favourite feat of that Mme. Violante who was the first instructress of Peg Woffington, except that she had a child attached to each foot.]

<sup>3</sup> [Augustina Barbara Vanbeck, *née* Urselin or Ursler, b. 1629, living in 1668. There is a print of her by Isaac Brunn dated 1653. Pepys also saw a *bearded* woman, 21st December, 1668.]

17th September. To see Sir Robert Needham, at Lambeth, a relation of mine; and thence to John Tradescant's museum,<sup>1</sup> in which the chiefest rarities were, in my opinion, the ancient Roman, Indian, and other nations' armour, shields, and weapons; some habits of curiously coloured and wrought feathers, one from the phenix wing, as tradition goes. Other innumerable things there were, printed in his catalogue by Mr. Ashmole, to whom after the death of the widow they are bequeathed, and by him designed as a gift to Oxford.<sup>2</sup>

19th October. I went to see divers gardens about London; returning, I saw at Dr. Joyliffe's two Virginian rattle-snakes alive, exceeding a yard in length, small heads, slender tails, but in the middle nearly the size of my leg; when vexed, swiftly vibrating and shaking their tails, as loud as a child's rattle; this, by the collision of certain gristly skins curiously jointed, yet loose, and transparent as parchment, by which they give warning; a providential caution for other creatures to avoid them. The Doctor tried their biting on rats and mice, which they immediately killed: but their vigour must needs be much exhausted here, in another climate, and kept only in a barrel of bran.

<sup>1</sup> The tombstone of the family in Lambeth churchyard declares, that "Beneath this stone lie John Tradescant, grand-sire, father, and son." They were all eminent gardeners, travellers, and collectors of curiosities. The first two came into this country in the reign of James I., and the second and third were employed in the Royal Gardens by Charles I. They had a house at Lambeth, which, being filled with rarities of every description, passed by the name of Tradescant's Ark, and was much resorted to by the lovers of the curious. It formed the foundation of the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford, and a catalogue of its contents was printed by the youngest John Tradescant, in 1656, with the title of *Musæum Tradescantianum; or, a Collection of Rarities, Preserved at South Lambeth near London*. The elder died in 1637.

<sup>2</sup> See *post*, under 23rd July, 1678.



*22nd October.* To town, to visit the Holland Ambassador, with whom I had now contracted much friendly correspondence, useful to the intelligence I constantly gave his Majesty abroad.

*26th November.* I went to London, to a court of the East India Company<sup>1</sup> on its new union, in Merchant-Taylors' Hall, where was much disorder by reason of the Anabaptists, who would have the adventurers obliged only by an engagement, without swearing, that they still might pursue their private trade; but it was carried against them. Wednesday was fixed on for a General Court for election of officers, after a sermon and prayers for good success. The Stock resolved on was £800,000.

*27th.* I took the oath at the East India House, subscribing £500.

*2nd December.* Dr. Reynolds (since Bishop of Norwich)<sup>2</sup> preached before the company at St. Andrew Under-shaft, on Nehemiah xiii. 81, showing, by the example of Nehemiah, all the perfections of a trusty person in public affairs, with many good precepts apposite to the occasion, ending with a prayer for God's blessing on the company and the undertaking.

*8rd.* Mr. Gunning<sup>3</sup> preached on John iii. 8, against the Anabaptists, showing the effect and necessity of the sacrament of baptism. This sect was now wonderfully spread.

*25th.* I went to London with my wife, to

<sup>1</sup> [The East India Company was incorporated by charter of 31st December, 1600. By further charters it was confirmed, enlarged, and altered.]

<sup>2</sup> [Dr. Edward Reynolds, 1599-1676; Bishop of Norwich, 1661-76.]

<sup>3</sup> [Dr. Peter Gunning, 1614-84; Bishop of Ely, 1675-84. During the Commonwealth he preached at Exeter Chapel, Strand, which was attached to Exeter House (see *post*, under 7th March, 1658).]

celebrate Christmas-day, Mr. Gunning preaching in Exeter chapel, on Micah vii. 2. Sermon ended, as he was giving us the Holy Sacrament, the chapel was surrounded with soldiers, and all the communicants and assembly surprised and kept prisoners by them, some in the house,<sup>1</sup> others carried away. It fell to my share to be confined to a room in the house, where yet I was permitted to dine with the master of it, the Countess of Dorset, Lady Hatton, and some others of quality who invited me. In the afternoon, came Colonel Whalley, Goffe, and others, from Whitehall, to examine us one by one; some they committed to the Marshal, some to prison. When I came before them, they took my name and abode, examined me why, contrary to the ordinance made, that none should any longer observe the superstitious time of the Nativity (so esteemed by them), I durst offend, and particularly be at Common Prayers, which they told me was but the mass in English, and particularly pray for Charles Stuart; for which we had no Scripture. I told them we did not pray for Charles Stuart, but for all Christian Kings, Princes, and Governors. They replied, in so doing we prayed for the King of Spain, too, who was their enemy and a Papist, with other frivolous and ensnaring questions, and much threatening; and, finding no colour to detain me, they dismissed me with much pity of my ignorance. These were men of high flight and above ordinances, and spake spiteful things of our Lord's Nativity. As we went up to receive the Sacrament, the miscreants held their muskets against us, as if they would have shot us at the altar; but yet suffering us to finish the office of Communion, as perhaps not having instructions what to do, in case they found us in that action.

<sup>1</sup> [*I.e.* Exeter House.]

So I got home late the next day; blessed be God!

1657-8: 27th January. After six fits of a quartan ague, with which it pleased God to visit him, died my dear son, Richard,<sup>1</sup> to our inexpressible grief and affliction, five years and three days old only, but at that tender age a prodigy for wit and understanding; for beauty of body, a very angel; for endowment of mind, of incredible and rare hopes. To give only a little taste of them, and thereby glory to God, who "out of the mouths of babes and infants does sometimes perfect his praises": at two years and a half old, he could perfectly read any of the English, Latin, French, or Gothic letters, pronouncing the three first languages exactly. He had, before the fifth year, or in that year, not only skill to read most written hands, but to decline all the nouns, conjugate the verbs regular, and most of the irregular; learned out *Puerilis*,<sup>2</sup> got by heart almost the entire vocabulary of Latin and French primitives and words, could make congruous syntax, turn English into Latin, and *vice versa*, construe and prove what he read, and did the government and use of relatives, verbs, substantives, ellipses, and many figures and tropes, and made a considerable progress in Comenius's *Janua*; <sup>3</sup> began himself to write legibly, and had a strong passion for Greek. The number of verses he could recite was prodigious, and what he remembered of the parts of plays, which he would also act; and, when seeing a Plautus in one's hand, he asked what book it was, and, being told it was comedy, and too difficult for him, he wept for sorrow.

<sup>1</sup> [See *ante*, p. 62.]

<sup>2</sup> [Cato's *Precepts and Sententiæ Pueriles*, 1612.]

<sup>3</sup> [The *Janua Linguarum* of the Moravian, John Amos Comenius, 1592-1671, a celebrated grammarian and Protestant divine. It was first published in 1631, and went through many editions.]

Strange was his apt and ingenious application of fables and morals; for he had read *Æsop*; he had a wonderful disposition to mathematics, having by heart divers propositions of *Euclid* that were read to him in play, and he would make lines and demonstrate them. As to his piety, astonishing were his applications of Scripture upon occasion, and his sense of God; he had learned all his Catechism early, and understood the historical part of the Bible and New Testament to a wonder, how Christ came to redeem mankind, and how, comprehending these necessities himself, his god-fathers were discharged of their promise.

These and the like illuminations, far exceeding his age and experience, considering the prettiness of his address and behaviour, cannot but leave impressions in me at the memory of him. When one told him how many days a Quaker had fasted,<sup>1</sup> he replied that was no wonder; for Christ had said that man should not live by bread alone, but by the Word of God. He would of himself select the most pathetic psalms, and chapters out of *Job*, to read to his maid during his sickness, telling her, when she pitied him, that all God's children must suffer affliction. He declaimed against the vanities of the world, before he had seen any. Often he would desire those who came to see him to pray by him, and a year before he fell sick, to kneel and pray with him alone in some corner. How thankfully would he receive admonition! how soon be reconciled! how indifferent, yet continually cheerful! He would give grave advice to his brother John, bear with his impertinences, and say he was but a child. If he heard of or saw any new thing, he was unquiet till he was told how it was made; he brought to us all such difficulties as he found in books, to be expounded. He had

<sup>1</sup> [See *ante*, p. 114.]

learned by heart divers sentences in Latin and Greek, which, on occasion, he would produce even to wonder. He was all life, all prettiness, far from morose, sullen, or childish in anything he said or did. The last time he had been at church (which was at Greenwich), I asked him, according to custom, what he remembered of the sermon; Two good things, Father, said he, *bonum gratiæ* and *bonum gloriæ*, with a just account of what the preacher said.

The day before he died, he called to me: and, in a more serious manner than usual, told me that for all I loved him so dearly, I should give my house, land, and all my fine things, to his brother Jack, he should have none of them; and, the next morning, when he found himself ill, and that I persuaded him to keep his hands in bed, he demanded whether he might pray to God with his hands unjoined; and a little after, whilst in great agony, whether he should not offend God by using his holy name so often calling for ease. What shall I say of his frequent pathological ejaculations uttered of himself: "Sweet Jesus, save me, deliver me, pardon my sins, let thine angels receive me!" So early knowledge, so much piety and perfection! But thus God, having dressed up a saint fit for himself, would not longer permit him with us, unworthy of the future fruits of this incomparable hopeful blossom. Such a child I never saw: for such a child I bless God, in whose bosom he is! May I and mine become as this little child, who now follows the child Jesus that Lamb of God in a white robe, whithersoever he goes; even so, Lord Jesus, *fiat voluntas tua!* Thou gavest him to us, Thou hast taken him from us, blessed be the name of the Lord! That I had anything acceptable to Thee was from thy grace alone, since from me he had nothing but sin, but that Thou hast pardoned! blessed be my God for ever, Amen.

In my opinion, he was suffocated by the women and maids that attended him, and covered him too hot with blankets as he lay in a cradle, near an excessive hot fire in a close room. I suffered him to be opened, when they found that he was what is vulgarly called liver-grown. I caused his body to be coffined in lead, and deposited on the 30th at eight o'clock that night in the church at Deptford, accompanied with divers of my relations and neighbours, among whom I distributed rings with this motto: *Dominus abstulit*; intending, God willing, to have him transported with my own body to be interred in our dormitory in Wotton Church, in my dear native county of Surrey, and to lay my bones and mingle my dust with my fathers, if God be gracious to me, and make me as fit for Him as this blessed child was. The Lord Jesus sanctify this and all other my afflictions, Amen.

Here ends the joy of my life, and for which I go even mourning to the grave.

*15th February.* The afflicting hand of God being still upon us, it pleased Him also to take away from us this morning my youngest Son, George, now seven weeks languishing at nurse, breeding teeth, and ending in a dropsy.<sup>1</sup> God's holy will be done! He was buried in Deptford church, the 17th following.

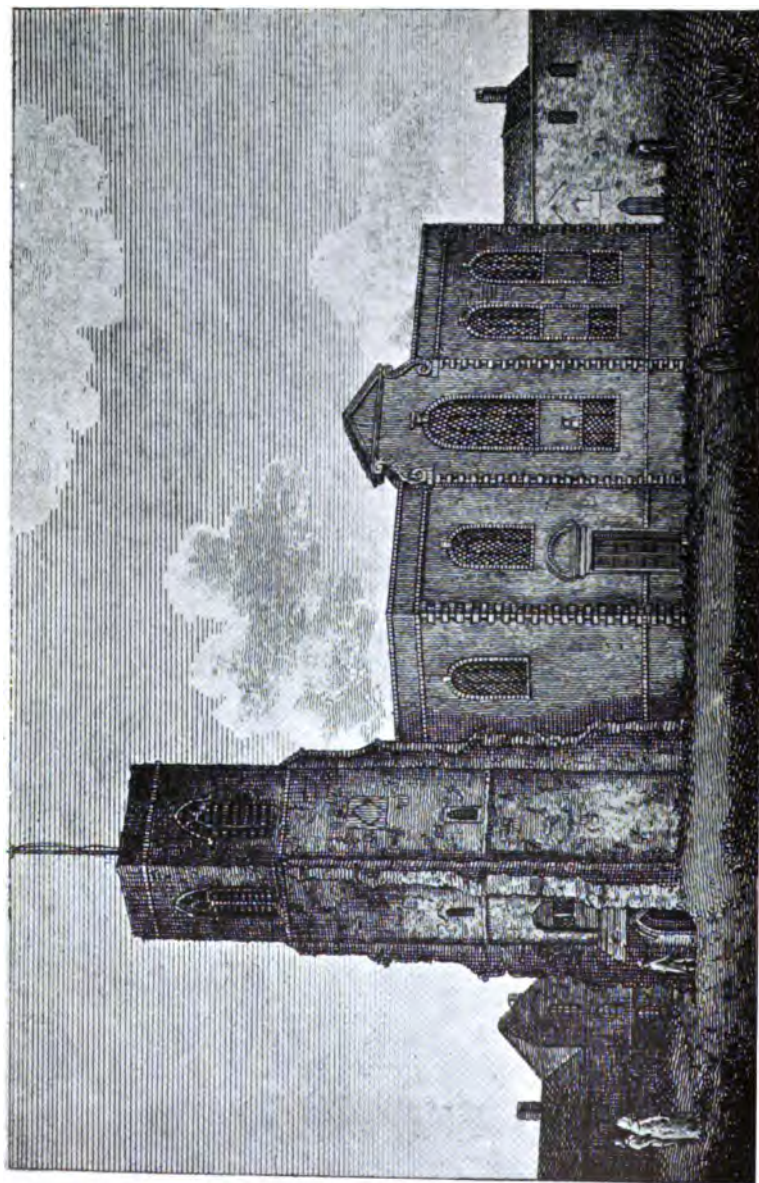
*25th.* Came Dr. Jeremy Taylor, and my brothers, with other friends, to visit and condole with us.<sup>2</sup>

*7th March.* To London, to hear Dr. Taylor in a private house on Luke xiii. 23, 24. After the sermon, followed the blessed Communion, of which I participated. In the afternoon, Dr. Gunning, at Exeter House, expounding part of the Creed.

<sup>1</sup> [See *ante*, p. 121.]

<sup>2</sup> [See Appendix II. for Jeremy Taylor's letter of 17th February, 1658.]





ST. NICHOLAS' CHURCH, DEFTFORD



This had been the severest winter that any man alive had known in England. The crows' feet were frozen to their prey. Islands of ice inclosed both fish and fowl frozen, and some persons in their boats.

*15th May*, was a public fast, to avert an epidemical sickness, very mortal this spring.

*20th*. I went to see a coach-race in Hyde Park, and collationed in Spring Garden.<sup>1</sup>

*28rd*. Dr. Manton, the famous Presbyterian,<sup>2</sup> preached at Covent Garden, on Matthew vi. 10, showing what the kingdom of God was, how [to] pray for it, etc.

There was now a collection for persecuted and sequestered Ministers of the Church of England, whereof divers are in prison. A sad day! The Church now in dens and caves of the earth.

*31st*. I went to visit my Lady Peterborough, whose son, Mr. Mordaunt, prisoner in the Tower, was now on his trial, and acquitted but by one voice;<sup>3</sup> but that holy martyr, Dr. Hewit,<sup>4</sup> was condemned to die without law, jury, or justice, but by a mock Council of State, as they called it. A dangerous, treacherous time!

*2nd June*. An extraordinary storm of hail and rain, the season as cold as winter, the wind northerly near six months.

*3rd*. A large whale was taken betwixt my land abutting on the Thames and Greenwich, which drew an infinite concourse to see it, by water, horse, coach, and on foot, from London, and all parts. It appeared first below Greenwich at low water, for at high water it would have destroyed all the boats, but lying now in shallow water

<sup>1</sup> [See *ante*, p. 71.]

<sup>2</sup> [Dr. Thomas Manton, 1620-77, Rector of St. Paul's, Covent Garden, 1656-62.]

<sup>3</sup> [See *ante*, p. 119.]

<sup>4</sup> [See *ante*, p. 68.]

encompassed with boats, after a long conflict, it was killed with a harping iron, struck in the head, out of which spouted blood and water by two tunnels; and, after a horrid groan, it ran quite on shore, and died. Its length was fifty-eight feet, height sixteen; black-skinned, like coach-leather; very small eyes, great tail, only two small fins, a peaked snout, and a mouth so wide, that divers men might have stood upright in it; no teeth, but sucked the slime only as through a grate of that bone which we call whale-bone; the throat yet so narrow, as would not have admitted the least of fishes. The extremes of the cetaceous bones hang downwards from the upper jaw, and are hairy towards the ends and bottom within side: all of it prodigious; but in nothing more wonderful than that an animal of so great a bulk should be nourished only by slime through those grates.

8th June. That excellent preacher and holy man, Dr. Hewit, was martyred for having intelligence with his Majesty, through the Lord Marquis of Ormonde.<sup>1</sup>

9th. I went to see the Earl of Northumberland's<sup>2</sup> pictures, whereof that of the Venetian Senators<sup>3</sup> was one of the best of Titian's, and another of Andrea del Sarto, viz. a Madonna, Christ, St. John, and an Old Woman; a St. Catherine of Da Vinci, with divers portraits of Vandyck; a Nativity of Georgione; the last of our blessed

<sup>1</sup> [See *ante*, p. 68. "His greatest crime"—says Clarendon—"was collecting and sending money to the King" (*History of the Rebellion*, 1888, vi. 61).]

<sup>2</sup> Algernon Percy, tenth Earl, 1602-68. Though conspicuously opposed to Charles I. during the Civil Wars, he promoted the Restoration. He was one of our first collectors of pictures, and his gallery at Suffolk, afterwards Northumberland, House, in the Strand, now non-existent, was greatly admired, not only by Evelyn, but by all connoisseurs.

<sup>3</sup> The Cornaro family. There is a print of it engraved by Bernard Baron.

Kings (Charles I.), and the Duke of York, by Lely, a Rosary by the famous Jesuits of Brussels, and several more. This was in Suffolk House: the new front towards the gardens is tolerable, were it not drowned by a too massy and clumsy pair of stairs of stone, without any neat invention.

*10th June.* I went to see the Medical Garden, at Westminster, well stored with plants, under Morgan, a very skilful botanist.

*26th.* To Eltham, to visit honest Mr. Owen.

*3rd July.* To London, and dined with Mr. Henshaw, Mr. Dorell, and Mr. Ashmole, founder of the Oxford repository of rarities,<sup>1</sup> with divers doctors of physic and virtuosos.

*15th.* Came to see my Lord Kilmorey and Lady, Sir Robert Needham, Mr. Offley, and two daughters of my Lord Willoughby of Parham.<sup>2</sup>

*3rd August.* Went to Sir John Evelyn at Godstone.<sup>3</sup> The place is excellent, but might be improved by turning some offices of the house, and removing the garden. The house being a noble fabric, though not comparable to what was first built by my uncle, who was master of all the powder-mills.

*5th.* We went to Squerries<sup>4</sup> to visit my Cousin Leech, daughter to Sir John; a pretty, finely-wooded, well-watered seat, the stables good, the house old, but convenient. *6th.* Returned to Wotton.

<sup>1</sup> [See *ante*, pp. 105 and 124.]

<sup>2</sup> [Francis Willoughby, fifth Baron Willoughby of Parham, 1613-66; Governor of Barbadoes, 1650-66.]

<sup>3</sup> [Lee, or Leigh Place. In Godstone Church is a monument of black and white marble to Evelyn's uncle Sir John (*d.* 1643) and his wife, Thomasine Heynes. The Sir John of the above was his son, who became a baronet in 1660, and died in 1671 (see *ante*, p. 69).]

<sup>4</sup> Squerries Court, at Westerham, in Kent, the seat of Sir William Leech, who had married Jane, the daughter of Sir John Evelyn, *d.* 1643.

10th *August*. I dined at Mr. Carew Raleigh's, at Horsley,<sup>1</sup> son to the famous Sir Walter.

14th. We went to Durdans<sup>2</sup> [at Epsom] to a challenged match at bowls for £10, which we won.

18th. To Sir Ambrose Browne, at Betchworth Castle,<sup>3</sup> in that tempestuous wind which threw down my greatest trees at Sayes Court, and did so much mischief all over England. It continued the whole night; and, till three in the afternoon of the next day, in the south-west, and destroyed all our winter fruit.

3rd *September*. Died that arch-rebel, Oliver Cromwell, called Protector.<sup>4</sup>

16th. Was published my Translation of St. Chrysostom on Education of Children, which I dedicated to both my brothers, to comfort them on the loss of their children.<sup>5</sup>

21st. My Lord Berkeley, of Berkeley Castle, invited me to dinner.<sup>6</sup>

26th. Mr. King preached at Ashted, on Proverbs xv. 24; a Quaker would have disputed with him. In the afternoon, we heard Dr.

<sup>1</sup> [West Horsley.]

<sup>2</sup> [The Durdans, south of Epsom, is now the seat of the Earl of Rosebery. A modern house has replaced the old one. When Evelyn wrote, the Durdans was the residence of George, first Earl of Berkeley.]

<sup>3</sup> [See *ante*, p. 98. This storm must have spared the magnificent chestnuts still at Betchworth.]

<sup>4</sup> [He died at Whitehall; and his body was embalmed and removed to Somerset House, where his effigy was for many days exhibited. His public funeral was on 23rd November (see *post*, under 22nd October, 1658).]

<sup>5</sup> ["*The Golden Book of St. John Chrysostom, concerning the Education of Children*. Translated out of the Greek by J. E., Esq. London: 1659." The Preface contains another account of Richard Evelyn (*ante*, pp. 127-130). It is reprinted in *Miscellaneous Writings*, 1825, pp. 103-140.]

<sup>6</sup> [George Berkeley, first Earl of Berkeley, 1628-98.]

Hacket (since Bishop of Lichfield)<sup>1</sup> at Cheam, where the family of the Lumleys lie buried.

27th September. To Beddington,<sup>2</sup> that ancient seat of the Carews, a fine old hall, but a scrambling house, famous for the first orange-garden in England, being now overgrown trees, planted in the ground, and secured in winter with a wooden tabernacle and stoves. This seat is rarely watered, lying low, and environed with good pastures. The pomegranates bear here. To the house is also added a fine park. Thence, to Carshalton, excellently watered, and capable of being made a most delicious seat, being on the sweet downs, and a champaign about it full planted with walnut and cherry trees, which afford a considerable rent.

Riding over these downs, and discoursing with the shepherds, I found that digging about the bottom near Sir Christopher Buckle's,<sup>3</sup> near Banstead, divers medals have been found, both copper and silver, with foundations of houses, urns, etc. Here, indeed, anciently stood a city of the Romans.—See Antonine's *Itinerary*.

29th. I returned home, after ten weeks' absence.

2nd October. I went to London, to receive the Holy Sacrament.

On the 8rd, Dr. Wild<sup>4</sup> preached in a private place on Isaiah i. 4, showing the parallel betwixt the sins of Israel and those of England. In the afternoon, Mr. Hall<sup>5</sup> (son to Joseph, Bishop of

<sup>1</sup> [Dr. John Hacket, 1592-1670; Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, 1661-70.]

<sup>2</sup> [Beddington House (see *ante*, vol. i. p. 9).]

<sup>3</sup> Not far from the course of the Roman Road from Chichester, through Sussex, passing through Ockley, and Dorking churchyard. Considerable remains of a Roman building were found on Waltonheath, south of this house.

<sup>4</sup> [See *ante*, p. 101.]

<sup>5</sup> [Dr. George Hall, 1612-68, afterwards Bishop of Chester, 1662-68.]

Norwich) on 1 Cor. vi. 2, of the dignity of the Saints; a most excellent discourse.

4th October. I dined with the Holland Ambassador, at Derby House: returning, I diverted to see a very *white raven*, bred in Cumberland; also a porcupine, of that kind that shoots its quills, of which see Claudian; it was headed like a rat, the fore feet like a badger, the hind feet like a bear.

19th. I was summoned to London by the Commissioners for new buildings; afterwards, to the Commission of Sewers; but because there was an oath to be taken of fidelity to the Government as now constituted without a King, I got to be excused, and returned home.

22nd. Saw the superb funeral of the Protector.<sup>1</sup> He was carried from Somerset-House in a velvet bed of state, drawn by six horses, housed with the same; the pall held by his new Lords; Oliver lying in effigy, in royal robes, and crowned with a crown, sceptre, and globe, like a king. The pendants and guidons were carried by the officers of the army; the Imperial banners, achievements, etc., by the heralds in their coats; a rich caparisoned horse, embroidered all over with gold; a knight of honour, armed cap-à-pie, and, after all, his guards, soldiers, and innumerable mourners. In this equipage, they proceeded to Westminster: but it was the joyfulest funeral I ever saw; for there were none that cried but dogs, which the soldiers hooted away with a barbarous noise, drinking and taking tobacco in the streets as they went.

I returned not home till the 17th November.

I was summoned again to London by the

<sup>1</sup> [There must be a blunder here as to date. Cromwell's public funeral, as already stated (see *ante*, p. 134 n.), took place on the 23rd November. He was buried in Henry VII.'s Chapel, Westminster Abbey, at the east end of the middle aisle.]

Commissioners for new foundations to be erected within such a distance of London.

*6th December.* Now was published my *French Gardener*,<sup>1</sup> the first and best of the kind that introduced the use of the olitory garden<sup>2</sup> to any purpose.

*28rd.* I went with my wife to keep Christmas at my cousin, George Tuke's, at Cressing Temple, in Essex.<sup>3</sup> Lay that night at Brentwood.

*25th.* Here was no public service, but what we privately used. I blessed God for His mercies the year past; and, 1st January, begged a continuance of them. Thus, for three Sundays, by reason of the incumbent's death, here was neither praying nor preaching, though there was a chapel in the house.

1658-9: *17th January.* Our old vicar preached, taking leave of the parish in a pathological speech, to go to a living in the City.<sup>4</sup>

*24th March.* I went to London, to speak to the patron, Alderman Cutler,<sup>5</sup> about presenting a fit pastor for our destitute parish-church.

*5th April.* Came the Earl of Northampton<sup>6</sup> and the famous painter, Mr. Wright,<sup>7</sup> to visit me.

<sup>1</sup> [*The French Gardener: instructing how to cultivate all sorts of Fruit-trees and Herbes for the Garden*, etc. From the French of M. de Bonnefons, "now transplanted into English by Philocepos," 1658. The "Epistle Dedicatory" (to Thomas Henshaw) is reprinted in the *Miscellaneous Writings*, 1825, pp. 97-98.]

<sup>2</sup> [Kitchen garden (*olitorius*).] <sup>3</sup> [See *ante*, p. 111.]

<sup>4</sup> [St. Michael, Crooked Lane (see *ante*, p. 122).]

<sup>5</sup> [John Cutler, 1608-98, afterwards Sir John, an eminent, but miserly citizen of London. Pope handles him severely in his Epistle to Lord Bathurst "*On the Use of Riches*," 1732, ii. 315-35. (See *post*, under 25th February, 1672.)]

<sup>6</sup> [James, third Earl of Northampton, d. 1681.]

<sup>7</sup> Joseph Michael Wright, d. c. 1700, who painted the twelve Judges in Guildhall, after the great fire. A long account of him is given in Walpole's *Anecdotes of Painting*. See also *post*, under 3rd October, 1662.

*10th April.* One Mr. Littler,<sup>1</sup> being now presented to the living of our parish, preached on John vi. 55, a sermon preparatory to the Holy Sacrament.

*25th.* A wonderful and sudden change in the face of the public; the new Protector, Richard, slighted; several pretenders and parties strive for the government: all anarchy and confusion; Lord have mercy on us!

*5th May.* I went to visit my brother in London; and, next day, to see a new opera,<sup>2</sup> after the Italian way, in recitative music and scenes, much inferior to the Italian composure and magnificence; but it was prodigious that in a time of such public consternation such a vanity should be kept up, or permitted. I, being engaged with company, could not decently resist the going to see it, though my heart smote me for it.

*7th.* Came the Ambassador of Holland and his Lady to visit me, and staid the whole afternoon.

*12th.* I returned the visit, discoursing much of the revolutions, etc.

*19th.* Came to dine with me my Lord Galloway and his son, a Scotch Lord and learned: also my brother and his Lady, Lord Berkeley and his Lady, Mrs. Shirley, and the famous singer, Mrs. Knight,<sup>3</sup> and other friends.

*23rd.* I went to Rookwood,<sup>4</sup> and dined with

<sup>1</sup> [The Rev. Robert Littler, or Lytler, presented to the living by Sir John Cutler.]

<sup>2</sup> Probably that by Sir William Davenant, in which the cruelty of the Spaniards in Peru was exhibited with all the adjuncts of instrumental and vocal music, and elaborate scenery.

<sup>3</sup> Afterwards one of Charles II.'s mistresses.

<sup>4</sup> A house in Leyton in Essex, better known by the name of Ruckholt [rook-wood in Saxon], built by one Parvis, a former owner of the estate; but a new house was afterwards erected near the site of the former by the family of Hicckes, of whom William was created a baronet in 1619. Charles II. was entertained here one day when he was hunting in Waltham forest, on



Sir William Hickes, where was a great feast and much company. It is a melancholy old house, environed with trees and rooks.

*26th May.* Came to see me my Lord George Berkeley, Sir William Ducie, and Sir George Pott's son of Norfolk.

*29th.* The nation was now in extreme confusion and unsettled, between the Armies and the Sectaries, the poor Church of England breathing as it were her last; so sad a face of things had overspread us.

*7th June.* To London, to take leave of my brother, and see the foundations now laying for a long street<sup>1</sup> and buildings in Hatton-Garden, designed for a little town, lately an ample garden.

*1st September.* I communicated to Mr. Robert Boyle, son to the Earl of Cork,<sup>2</sup> my proposal for erecting a philosophic and mathematic college.

*15th.* Came to see me Mr. Brereton,<sup>3</sup> a very learned gentleman, son to my Lord Brereton, with his and divers other ladies. Also, Henry Howard of Norfolk, since Duke of Norfolk.<sup>4</sup>

*30th.* I went to visit Sir William Lucie<sup>5</sup> and Colonel Blount,<sup>6</sup> where I met Sir Henry Blount, the famous traveller and water-drinker.<sup>7</sup>

which occasion he knighted William, the son of the Baronet. [Ruckholt was pulled down in 1757 (Wright and Bartlett's *Essex*, ii. 498). It had then been "for some years an auxiliary place of amusement for the Summer to the established Theatres [of London]" (*Gentleman's Magazine*, July, 1814, p. 11).]

<sup>1</sup> [Hatton Garden. It was originally called Hatton Street, and occupied the site of Sir Christopher Hatton's garden.]

<sup>2</sup> [See *ante*, p. 110; and for the letter in question, which is dated 3rd September, 1659, Appendix III.]

<sup>3</sup> William, afterwards third Lord Brereton, *d.* 1679, an accomplished and able man, who assisted Evelyn in establishing the Royal Society.

<sup>4</sup> [See *ante*, vol. i. p. 312.]

<sup>5</sup> Query.—Ducie (see above, 26th May).]

<sup>6</sup> [See *ante*, p. 60.]

<sup>7</sup> Sir Henry Blount, 1602-82. After travelling for some years, he published, in 1636, *A Voyage to the Levant, with Observa-*

10th October. I came with my wife and family to London: took lodgings at the Three Feathers, in Russell Street, Covent Garden, for the winter, my son being very unwell.

11th. Came to visit me Mr. William Coventry<sup>1</sup> (since Secretary to the Duke), son to the Lord Keeper, a wise and witty gentleman.

The Army now turned out the Parliament. We had now no government in the nation; all in confusion; no magistrate either owned or pretended, but the soldiers, and they not agreed. God Almighty have mercy on, and settle us!

17th. I visited Mr. Howard, at Arundel-house, who gave me a fair onyx set in gold, and showed me his design of a palace there.

21st. A private fast was kept by the Church of England Protestants in town, to beg of God the removal of His judgments, with devout prayers for His mercy to our calamitous Church.

7th November. Was published my bold *Apology for the King*<sup>2</sup> in this time of danger, when it was capital to speak or write in favour of him. It was twice printed;<sup>3</sup> so universally it took.

9th. We observed our solemn Fast for the calamity of our Church.

12th. I went to see the several drugs for the confection of treacle, dioscoridium, and other electuaries, which an ingenious apothecary had not only prepared and ranged on a large and very long table,

*tions concerning the Modern Condition of the Turks*, which passed through many editions, and is reprinted in the "Harleian Collection." In 1640 he was knighted.

<sup>1</sup> [Afterwards (1665) Sir William Coventry (1628-86). He was Secretary to the Duke of York from 1660-67.]

<sup>2</sup> [*An Apology for the Royal Party, written in a Letter to a person of the late Council of State, by a Lover of Peace and of his Country. With a Touch at the pretended "Plea for the Army,"* 1659. It is reprinted in Evelyn's *Miscellaneous Writings*, 1825, pp. 169-92.]

<sup>3</sup> [There were three editions in the same year.]

but covered every ingredient with a sheet of paper, on which was very lively painted the thing in miniature, well to the life, were it plant, flower, animal, or other exotic drug.

15th November. Dined with the Dutch Ambassador. He did in a manner acknowledge that his nation mind only their own profit, do nothing out of gratitude, but collaterally as it relates to their gain, or security; and therefore the English were to look for nothing of assistance to the banished King. This was to me no very grateful discourse, though an ingenuous confession.

18th. Mr. Gunning<sup>1</sup> celebrated the wonted Fast, and preached on Phil. ii. 12, 18.

24th. Sir John Evelyn [of Godstone]<sup>2</sup> invited us to the forty-first wedding-day feast, where was much company of friends.

26th. I was introduced into the acquaintance of divers learned and worthy persons, Sir John Marsham,<sup>3</sup> Mr. Dugdale,<sup>4</sup> Mr. Stanley,<sup>5</sup> and others.

9th December. I supped with Mr. Gunning, it being our fast-day, Dr. Fearn, Mr. Thrisco, Mr. Chamberlain, Dr. Henschman,<sup>6</sup> Dr. Wild,<sup>7</sup> and other devout and learned divines, firm confessors, and excellent persons. Note: Most of them since made bishops.

10th. I treated privately with Colonel Morley,<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> [See *ante*, p. 125.]

<sup>2</sup> [See *ante*, p. 133.]

<sup>3</sup> [Sir John Marsham of Cuxton, Kent, 1602-85, writer on chronology. His *Chronicus Canon* was published in 1672. He is said to have been the first to make the Egyptian antiquities intelligible.]

<sup>4</sup> [See *ante*, p. 110.]

<sup>5</sup> [Brother to the Earl of Derby, and afterwards killed in a duel (see *post*, under 19th February, 1686).]

<sup>6</sup> [Dr. Humphrey Henschman, 1592-1675, afterwards Bishop of Salisbury and London.]

<sup>7</sup> [See *ante*, p. 135.]

<sup>8</sup> Colonel Herbert Morley, 1616-67 (see *ante*, p. 56). A detailed account of Evelyn's communications with Colonel Morley will be found in Appendix IV.

then Lieutenant of the Tower, and in great trust and power, concerning delivering it to the King, and the bringing of him in, to the great hazard of my life, but the Colonel had been my school-fellow, and I knew would not betray me.

*12th December.* I spent in public concerns for his Majesty, pursuing the point to bring over Colonel Morley, and his brother-in-law, Fay, Governor of Portsmouth.

*18th.* Preached that famous divine, Dr. Sander-son<sup>1</sup> (since Bishop of Lincoln), now eighty years old, on Jer. xxx. 18, concerning the evil of forsaking God.

*29th.* Came my Lord Count Arundel, of Wardour, to visit me. I went also to see my Lord Viscount Montague.<sup>2</sup>

*31st.* Settling my domestic affairs in order, blessed God for his infinite mercies and preservations the past year.

ANNUS MIRABILIS, 1659-60: *January 1.* Begging God's blessings for the following year, I went to Exeter Chapel, when Mr. Gunning began the year on Galatians iv. 8-7, showing the love of Christ in shedding his blood so early for us.

*12th.* Wrote to Colonel Morley again to declare for his Majesty.

*22nd.* I went this afternoon to visit Colonel Morley. After dinner I discoursed with him; but he was very jealous,<sup>3</sup> and would not believe that Monck came in to do the King any service; I told him that he might do it without him, and have all the honour. He was still doubtful, and would resolve on nothing yet, so I took leave.

<sup>1</sup> [Dr. Robert Sanderson, 1587-1663; Bishop of Lincoln, 1660-63.]

<sup>2</sup> Francis Browne, third Viscount, *d.* 2nd November, 1682, a zealous royalist.

<sup>3</sup> [Suspicious.]

*8rd February.* Kept the Fast. General Monck came now to London out of Scotland ; but no man knew what he would do, or declare, yet he was met on his way by the gentlemen of all the counties which he passed, with petitions that he would recall the old long-interrupted Parliament, and settle the nation in some order, being at this time in most prodigious confusion, and under no government, everybody expecting what would be next, and what he would do.

*10th.* Now were the gates of the city broken down by General Monck ; which exceedingly exasperated the city, the soldiers marching up and down as triumphing over it, and all the old army of the fanatics put out of their posts, and sent out of town.

*11th.* A signal day. Monck, perceiving how infamous and wretched a pack of knaves would have still usurped the supreme power, and having intelligence that they intended to take away his commission, repenting of what he had done to the city, and where he and his forces were quartered, marches to Whitehall, dissipates that nest of robbers, and convenes the old Parliament, the Rump Parliament (so called as retaining some few rotten members of the other) being dissolved ; and for joy whereof were many thousands of rumps roasted publicly in the streets at the bonfires this night,<sup>1</sup> with ringing of bells, and universal jubilee. This was the first good omen.

From 17th February to 5th April, I was detained in bed with a kind of double tertian, the cruel effects of the spleen and other distempers, in that extremity that my physicians, Drs. Wetherborn, Needham,<sup>2</sup> and Claude, were in great doubt of

<sup>1</sup> Pamphlets with cuts representing this special turn of the popular heats were printed at the time.

<sup>2</sup> [See *ante*, p. 116.]

my recovery ; but it pleased God to deliver me out of this affliction, for which I render him hearty thanks : going to church the 8th, and receiving the blessed Eucharist.

During this sickness, came divers of my relations and friends to visit me, and it retarded my going into the country longer than I intended ; however, I writ and printed a letter, in defence of his Majesty,<sup>1</sup> against a wicked forged paper, pretended to be sent from Brussels to defame his Majesty's person and virtues, and render him odious, now when everybody was in hope and expectation of the General and Parliament recalling him, and establishing the Government on its ancient and right basis. The doing this towards the decline of my sickness, and sitting up long in my bed, had caused a small relapse, out of which it yet pleased God also to free me, so as by the 14th I was able to go into the country, which I did to my sweet and native air at Wotton.

*8rd May.* Came the most happy tidings of his Majesty's gracious declaration and applications to the Parliament, General, and People, and their dutiful acceptance and acknowledgment, after a most bloody and unreasonable rebellion of near twenty years. Praised be for ever the Lord of Heaven, who only doeth wondrous things, because His mercy endureth for ever.

*8th.* This day was his Majesty proclaimed in London, etc.

*9th.* I was desired and designed to accompany my Lord Berkeley with the public address of the Parliament, General, etc., to the King, and invite him to come over and assume his kingly Govern-

<sup>1</sup> *The late News from Brussels unmasked, and His Majesty vindicated from the base calumny and scandal therein fixed on him, 1660.* This, and the tract by Marchamont Needham which gave rise to it, are reprinted in the *Miscellaneous Writings*, 1825, pp. 193-204.

ment, he being now at Breda; but I was yet so weak, I could not make that journey by sea, which was not a little to my detriment, so I went to London to excuse myself, returning the 10th, having yet received a gracious message from his Majesty by Major Scot and Colonel Tuke.

*24th May.* Came to me Colonel Morley, about procuring his pardon, now too late seeing his error and neglect of the counsel I gave him, by which, if he had taken it, he had certainly done the great work with the same ease that Monck did it, who was then in Scotland, and Morley in a post to have done what he pleased, but his jealousy<sup>1</sup> and fear kept him from that blessing and honour. I addressed him to Lord Mordaunt,<sup>2</sup> then in great favour, for his pardon, which he obtained at the cost of £1000, as I heard. O the sottish omission of this gentleman! what did I not undergo of danger in this negotiation, to have brought him over to his Majesty's interest, when it was entirely in his hands!

*29th.* This day, his Majesty, Charles the Second came to London, after a sad and long exile and calamitous suffering both of the King and Church, being seventeen years. This was also his birthday, and with a triumph of above 20,000 horse and foot, brandishing their swords, and shouting with inexpressible joy; the ways strewed with flowers, the bells ringing, the streets hung with tapestry, fountains running with wine; the Mayor, Aldermen, and all the Companies, in their liveries, chains of gold, and banners; Lords and Nobles, clad in cloth of silver, gold, and velvet; the windows and balconies, all set with ladies; trumpets, music, and myriads of people flocking, even so far as from Rochester, so as they were seven hours in passing

<sup>1</sup> [See *ante*, p. 142.]

<sup>2</sup> [See *ante*, p. 119.]

the city, even from two in the afternoon till nine at night.

I stood in the Strand and beheld it, and blessed God. And all this was done without one drop of blood shed, and by that very army which rebelled against him : but it was the Lord's doing, for such a restoration was never mentioned in any history, ancient or modern, since the return of the Jews from the Babylonish captivity ; nor so joyful a day and so bright ever seen in this nation, this happening when to expect or effect it was past all human policy.

*4th June.* I received letters of Sir Richard Browne's landing at Dover,<sup>1</sup> and also letters from the Queen, which I was to deliver at Whitehall, not as yet presenting myself to his Majesty, by reason of the infinite concourse of people. The eagerness of men, women, and children, to see his Majesty, and kiss his hands, was so great, that he had scarce leisure to eat for some days, coming as they did from all parts of the nation ; and the King being as willing to give them that satisfaction, would have none kept out, but gave free access to all sorts of people.

Addressing myself to the Duke,<sup>2</sup> I was carried to his Majesty, when very few noblemen were with him, and kissed his hands, being very graciously received. I then returned home, to meet Sir Richard Browne, who came not till the 8th, after nineteen years' exile, during all which time he kept up in his chapel the liturgy and offices of the Church of England, to his no small honour, and in a time when it was so low, and as many thought utterly lost, that in various controversies both with Papists and Sectaries, our divines used to argue for the visibility of the Church, from his chapel and congregation.

<sup>1</sup> [See *ante*, vol. i. p. 68.]

<sup>2</sup> [Of York.]



I was all this week to and fro at court about business.

16th June. The French, Italian, and Dutch Ministers came to make their address to his Majesty, one Monsieur Stoope pronouncing the harangue with great eloquence.

18th. I proposed the embassy of Constantinople for Mr. Henshaw; but my Lord Winchelsea struck in.<sup>1</sup>

Goods that had been pillaged from Whitehall during the Rebellion, were now daily brought in, and restored upon proclamation; as plate, hangings, pictures, etc.

22nd. The Warwickshire gentlemen (as did all the shires and chief towns in all the three nations) presented their congratulatory Address. It was carried by my Lord Northampton.<sup>2</sup>

30th. The Sussex gentlemen presented their Address, to which was my hand. I went with it, and kissed his Majesty's hand, who was pleased to own me more particularly by calling me his old acquaintance, and speaking very graciously to me.

8rd July. I went to Hyde-Park, where was his Majesty, and abundance of gallantry.

4th. I heard Sir Samuel Tuke's harangue to the house of Lords, in behalf of the Roman Catholics, and his account of the transaction at Colchester in murdering Lord Capel,<sup>4</sup> and the rest of those brave

<sup>1</sup> See *ante*, p. 105. It was on his return from this embassy that Lord Winchelsea, visiting Sicily, was an eye-witness of the dreadful eruption of Mount Etna in 1669, a short account of which was afterwards published in a small pamphlet, with a cut by Hollar of the mountain, etc.

<sup>2</sup> [See *ante*, p. 137. On Restoration Day Lord Northampton had headed a band of two hundred gentlemen in gray and blue to welcome the King.]

<sup>3</sup> [See *ante*, p. 18. He had become a Roman Catholic.]

<sup>4</sup> [See *ante*, p. 51.]

men, that suffered in cold blood, after articles of rendition.

*5th July.* I saw his Majesty go with as much pomp and splendour as any earthly prince could do to the great City feast, the first they had invited him to since his return; but the exceeding rain which fell all that day much eclipsed its lustres. This was at Guildhall, and there was also all the Parliament-men, both Lords and Commons. The streets were adorned with pageants, at immense cost.

*6th.* His Majesty began first to *touch for the evil*!<sup>1</sup> according to custom, thus: his Majesty sitting under his state in the Banqueting-house, the chirurgeons cause the sick to be brought, or led, up to the throne, where they kneeling, the King strokes their faces, or cheeks with both his hands at once, at which instant a chaplain in his formalities says, "He put his hands upon them, and he healed them." This is said to every one in particular. When they have been all touched, they come up again in the same order, and the other chaplain, kneeling, and having angel gold<sup>2</sup> strung on white ribbon on his arm, delivers them one by one to his Majesty, who puts them about the necks of the touched as they pass, whilst the first chaplain repeats, "That is the true light who came into the

<sup>1</sup> [According to Macaulay, Charles II. touched during his reign "near a hundred thousand persons," at a cost (in angels) of little less than ten thousand a year (*History*, ch. xiv.). The service appeared in the Prayer Book up to 1719. There is a long account of this practice, which continued until 1714, in Chambers's *Book of Days*, 1883, i. pp. 82-85. (See also Pepys, under June 23, 1660, and April 13, 1661).]

<sup>2</sup> Pieces of money, so called from the figure of an angel on them. [The identical touch-piece given by Queen Anne to Dr. Johnson, whom she touched, is preserved at the British Museum; and some interesting particulars respecting post-Restoration touch-pieces in general are said to be contained in a note prepared by the late Mr. R. W. Cochran-Patrick for the Numismatic Society, November 16, 1905.]

world." Then follows, an epistle (as at first a Gospel) with the Liturgy, prayers for the sick, with some alteration ; lastly the blessing ; and then the Lord Chamberlain and the Comptroller of the Household bring a basin, ewer and towel, for his Majesty to wash.

The King received a congratulatory address from the city of Cologne, in Germany, where he had been some time in his exile ; his Majesty saying they were the best people in the world, the most kind and worthy to him that he ever met with.

I recommended Monsieur Messary to be Judge Advocate in Jersey, by the Vice-Chamberlain's mediation with the Earl of St. Albans ;<sup>1</sup> and saluted my excellent and worthy noble friend, my Lord Ossory,<sup>2</sup> son to the Marquis of Ormonde, after many years' absence returned home.

8th July. Mr. Henchman<sup>3</sup> preached on Ephes. v. 5, concerning Christian circumspection. From henceforth, was the Liturgy publicly used in our churches, whence it had been for so many years banished.

15th. Came Sir George Carteret<sup>4</sup> and Lady to visit us : he was now Treasurer of the Navy.

28th. I heard his Majesty's speech in the Lords' House, on passing the Bills of Tonnage and Poundage ; restoration of my Lord Ormonde to his estate in Ireland ; concerning the Commission of Sewers, and continuance of the Excise.—In the afternoon, I saluted my old friend, the Archbishop of Armagh, formerly of Londonderry (Dr.

<sup>1</sup> [Henry Jermyn, first Earl of St. Albans, *d.* 1684, afterwards Ambassador at Paris. He had accompanied Henrietta Maria to France in 1644 (*ante*, vol. i. p. 114), and been her secretary and the commander of her body-guard. (See *post*, under 18th September, 1683.)]

<sup>2</sup> [See *ante*, p. 21.]

<sup>4</sup> [See *ante*, p. 15.]

<sup>3</sup> [See *ante*, p. 141.]

Bramhall).<sup>1</sup> He presented several Irish divines to be promoted as Bishops in that kingdom, most of the bishops in the three kingdoms being now almost worn out, and the sees vacant.

31st July. I went to visit Sir Philip Warwick, now Secretary to the Lord Treasurer, at his house in North Cray.<sup>2</sup>

19th August. Our Vicar read the Thirty-nine Articles to the congregation, the national assemblies beginning now to settle, and wanting instruction.

28rd. Came Duke Hamilton,<sup>3</sup> Lord Lothian,<sup>4</sup> and several Scottish Lords, to see my garden.

25th. Colonel Spencer, Colonel of a regiment of horse in our county of Kent, sent to me, and entreated that I would take a commission for a troop of horse, and that I would nominate my Lieutenant and Ensigns; I thanked him for the honour intended me; but would by no means undertake the trouble.

4th September. I was invited to an ordination

<sup>1</sup> John Bramhall, 1594-1663. He was made Bishop of Derry in 1634; but in 1641 his conduct laid him open to charges of high treason, and he found it necessary to quit the country, till the return of Charles II., when he was created Archbishop of Armagh. His works were published in 1677. Evelyn subsequently refers (see *post*, under 18th April, 1686) to a curious letter of Bramhall's on the Irish Catholics, which caused the suppression of the book in which it appeared.

<sup>2</sup> Sir Philip Warwick, 1609-83. He had been Charles I.'s secretary at the Isle of Wight. He was returned for Westminster at the Restoration, and obtained the office of Secretary to the Lord Treasurer, which brought him into frequent communication with Evelyn. He had found time to write *A Discourse of Government* (published 1694), and *Memoires of the Reigne of King Charles I.*, etc. (published 1701), the last containing some curious anecdotes, and the most graphic existing account of Cromwell's first speech in the House of Commons.

<sup>3</sup> [William Douglas, third Duke of Hamilton, 1635-94, father of Duke Hamilton in Thackeray's *Esmond*.]

<sup>4</sup> [See *ante*, p. 112.]

by the Bishop of Bangor,<sup>1</sup> in Henry VII.'s chapel, Westminster, and afterwards saw the audience of an Envoy from the Duke of Anjou, sent to compliment his Majesty's return.

*5th September.* Came to visit and dine with me the Envoy of the King of Poland, and Resident of the King of Denmark, etc.

*7th.* I went to Chelsea to visit Mr. Boyle,<sup>2</sup> and see his pneumatic engine perform divers experiments. Thence, to Kensington, to visit Mr. Henshaw,<sup>3</sup> returning home that evening.

*18th.* I saw in Southwark, at St. Margaret's fair,<sup>4</sup> monkeys and apes dance, and do other feats of activity, on the high rope; they were gallantly clad *à la mode*, went upright, saluted the company bowing and pulling off their hats, they saluted one another with as good a grace, as if instructed by a dancing-master; they turned heels over head with a basket having eggs in it, without breaking any; also, with lighted candles in their hands, and on their heads, without extinguishing them, and with vessels of water without spilling a drop. I also saw an Italian wench dance, and perform all the tricks on the high rope, to admiration; all the court went to see her. Likewise, here was a man who took up a piece of iron cannon of about 400 lb. weight with the hair of his head only.

*17th.* Went to London, to see the splendid entry of the Prince de Ligne, Ambassador Extraordinary from Spain; he was General of the Spanish King's horse in Flanders, and was accompanied with divers great persons from thence,

<sup>1</sup> [William Roberts, 1585-1665.]

<sup>2</sup> [See *ante*, p. 110.]

<sup>3</sup> [See *ante*, p. 147.]

<sup>4</sup> [Our Lady fair, held on St. Margaret's-hill in Southwark on the day after Bartholomew fair. Nominally confined to three days, it generally lasted fourteen. Hogarth drew it in 1733. It was suppressed in 1762.]

and an innumerable retinue. His train consisted of seventeen coaches, with six horses of his own, besides a great number of English, etc. Greater bravery had I never seen. He was received in the Banqueting-house, in exceeding state, all the great officers of Court attending.

*23rd September.* In the midst of all this joy and jubilee, the Duke of Gloucester died of the small-pox,<sup>1</sup> in the prime of youth, and a prince of extraordinary hopes.

*27th.* The King received the merchants' addresses in his closet, giving them assurances of his persisting to keep Jamaica, choosing Sir Edward Massey, Governor. In the afternoon, the Danish Ambassador's condolences were presented, on the death of the Duke of Gloucester. This evening, I saw the Princess Royal, mother to the Prince of Orange,<sup>2</sup> now come out of Holland in a fatal period.

*6th October.* I paid the great tax of poll-money, levied for disbanding the army, till now kept up. I paid as an Esquire £10, and one shilling for every servant in my house.

*7th.* There dined with me a French Count, with Sir George Tuke,<sup>3</sup> who came to take leave of me, being sent over to the Queen-Mother,<sup>4</sup> to break the marriage of the Duke with the daughter of Chancellor Hyde.<sup>5</sup> The Queen would fain have undone it; but it seems matters were reconciled, on great offers of the Chancellor's to befriend the Queen, who was much in debt, and was now to

<sup>1</sup> [Henry, Duke of Gloucester, 1639-60 (Henry of Oatlands), the King's brother. He had fought in Flanders.]

<sup>2</sup> [Mary, daughter of Charles I., married to William, Prince of Orange, and mother of William III.]

<sup>3</sup> [Query.—Sir Samuel Tuke. See *ante*, p. 147.]

<sup>4</sup> [Henrietta Maria, widow of Charles I.]

<sup>5</sup> [It had been contracted at Breda in 1659 (see *post*, under 22nd December, 1660).]

have the settlement of her affairs go through his hands.

*11th October.* The regicides who sat on the life of our late King, were brought to trial in the Old Bailey, before a commission of Oyer and Terminer.

*14th.* Axtall, Carew, Clement, Hacker, Hewson, and Peters, were executed.

*17th.* Scot, Scroop, Cook, and Jones, suffered for reward of their iniquities at Charing Cross, in sight of the place where they put to death their natural prince, and in the presence of the King his son, whom they also sought to kill. I saw not their execution, but met their quarters, mangled, and cut, and reeking, as they were brought from the gallows in baskets on the hurdle. Oh, the miraculous providence of God!

*28th.* His Majesty went to meet the Queen-Mother.

*29th.* Going to London, my Lord Mayor's show stopped me in Cheapside; one of the pageants represented a great wood, with the royal oak, and history of his Majesty's miraculous escape at Boscobel.

*31st.* Arrived now to my fortieth year, I rendered to Almighty God my due and hearty thanks.

*1st November.* I went with some of my relations to Court, to show them his Majesty's cabinet and closet of rarities; the rare miniatures of Peter Oliver, after Raphael, Titian, and other masters, which I infinitely esteem; also, that large piece of the Duchess of Lennox, done in enamel, by Petitot, and a vast number of agates, onyxes, and intaglios, especially a medallion of Cæsar, as broad as my hand; likewise, rare cabinets of *pietra-commessa*, a landscape of needle-work, formerly presented by the Dutch to King Charles the First. Here I saw a vast book of maps, in a volume near four yards large; a curious ship model; and,

amongst the clocks, one that showed the rising and setting of the sun in the zodiac; the sun represented by a face and rays of gold, upon an azure sky, observing the diurnal and annual motion, rising and setting behind a landscape of hills, the work of our famous Fromantil;<sup>1</sup> and several other rarities.

*3rd November.* Arrived the Queen-Mother in England, whence she had been banished almost twenty years;<sup>2</sup> together with her illustrious daughter, the Princess Henrietta,<sup>3</sup> divers Princes and Noblemen accompanying them.

*15th.* I kissed the Queen-Mother's hand.

*20th.* I dined at the Clerk Comptroller's of the Green Cloth,<sup>4</sup> being the first day of the re-establishment of the Court diet, and settling of his Majesty's household.

*28rd.* Being this day in the bedchamber of the Princess Henrietta, where were many great beauties and noblemen, I saluted divers of my old friends and acquaintances abroad; his Majesty carrying my wife to salute the Queen and Princess, and then led her into his closet, and with his own hands showed her divers curiosities.

<sup>1</sup> [John Fromentel (or, as also spelled, Fromantil, Fromanteel, and Formantil) was a Dutchman. He is credited with constructing the first pendulum clock in England. In the *Commonwealth Mercury* for Thursday, 25th November, 1668, is the following, which suggests further variation of the name:—Pendulum clocks are said to be "made by Ahasuerus Eromanteel, who made the first that were in England. You may have them at his house in Mopes Alley, Southwark, and at the sign of the 'Maremaid' in Lothbury, near Bartholomew Lane end, London" (E. J. Wood's *Curiosities of Clocks and Watches*, 1866, pp. 71, 98). See *post*, under 3rd May, 1661.]

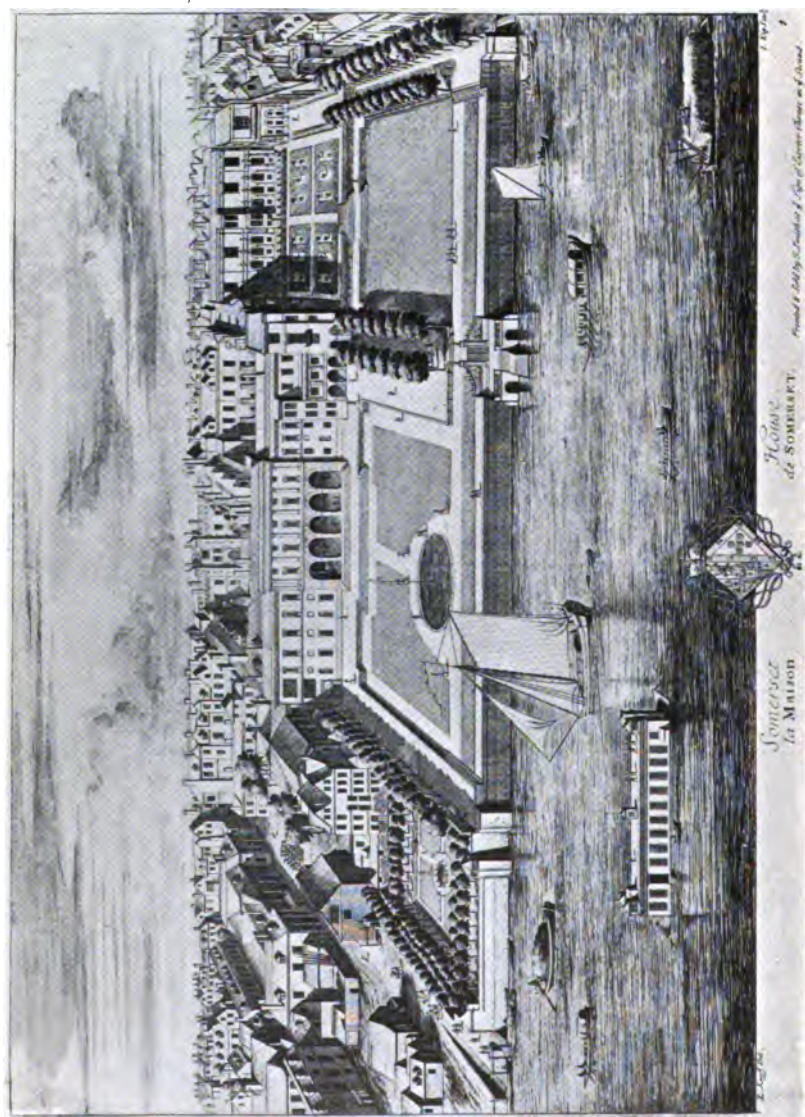
<sup>2</sup> [See *ante*, vol. i. p. 114. *La Reine malheureuse*—as she called herself, when she saw the Banqueting-house—arrived in London, 12th November, N.S. She was now, says Pepys, on the 22nd, "a very little, plain, old woman."]

<sup>3</sup> ["Madame" (see *ante*, vol. i. p. 114). Pepys thought her "very pretty," though not so handsome as his wife.]

<sup>4</sup> [Mr. Crane (see *post*, p. 157).]







SOMERSET HOUSE, STRAND.

*25th November.* Dr. Rainbow preached before the King, on Luke ii. 14, of the glory to be given God for all his mercies, especially for restoring the Church and government; now the service was performed with music, voices, etc., as formerly.

*27th.* Came down the Clerk Comptroller [of the Green Cloth] by the Lord Steward's appointment, to survey the land at Sayes Court, on which I had pretence, and to make his report.<sup>1</sup>

*6th December.* I waited on my brother and sister Evelyn to Court. Now were presented to his Majesty those two rare pieces of drollery,<sup>2</sup> or rather a Dutch Kitchen, painted by Dow, so finely as hardly to be distinguished from enamel. I was also showed divers rich jewels and crystal vases; the rare head of Jo. Bellino, Titian's master; "Christ in the Garden," by Annibale Caracci; two incomparable heads, by Holbein; the Queen-Mother in a miniature, almost as big as the life; an exquisite piece of carving; two unicorn's horns, etc. This in the closet.

*18th.* I presented my son, John, to the Queen-Mother, who kissed him, talked with and made extraordinary much of him.<sup>3</sup>

*14th.* I visited my Lady Chancellor, the Marchioness of Ormonde,<sup>4</sup> and Countess of Guildford,<sup>5</sup> all of whom we had known abroad in exile.

<sup>1</sup> Up to this time it was still the usage to supply the King's Household with corn and cattle from the different counties; and upon oxen being sent up, pasture-grounds of the King, near town, were allotted for them; among these were lands at Deptford, and Tottenham-Court, which were under the direction of the Lord Steward and Board of Green Cloth. Sir Richard Browne had the keeping of the lands at Deptford.

<sup>2</sup> [See *ante*, vol. i. p. 32.]

<sup>3</sup> [See *ante*, p. 100.]

<sup>4</sup> [See *ante*, p. 21.]

<sup>5</sup> Elizabeth, daughter of William, first Earl of Denbigh, married to Lewis, Viscount Boyle, who fell at the Battle of Liscarroll, in 1642. She was advanced to the Peerage for life, on the 14th July, 1660, as Countess of Guildford, and died in 1673.

18th December. I carried Mr. Spellman, a most ingenious gentleman, grandchild to the learned Sir Henry, to my Lord Mordaunt, to whom I had recommended him as Secretary.

21st. This day died the Princess of Orange,<sup>1</sup> of the small-pox, which entirely altered the face and gallantry of the whole Court.

22nd. The marriage of the Chancellor's daughter being now newly owned, I went to see her, she being Sir Richard Browne's intimate acquaintance when she waited on the Princess of Orange; she was now at her father's, at Worcester House, in the Strand.<sup>2</sup> We all kissed her hand, as did also my Lord Chamberlain (Manchester) and Countess of Northumberland. This was a strange change—can it succeed well?—I spent the evening at St. James's, whither the Princess Henrietta was retired during the fatal sickness of her sister, the Princess of Orange,<sup>3</sup> now come over to salute the King her brother. The Princess gave my wife an extraordinary compliment and gracious acceptance, for the *Character*<sup>4</sup> she had presented her the day before, and which was afterwards printed.

25th. Preached at the Abbey, Dr. Earle,<sup>5</sup> Clerk of his Majesty's Closet, and my dear friend, now Dean of Westminster, on Luke ii. 13, 14, condoling the breach made in the public joy by the lamented death of the Princess.

<sup>1</sup> [The Princess of Orange (Princess Royal), 1631-60, died 24th December.]

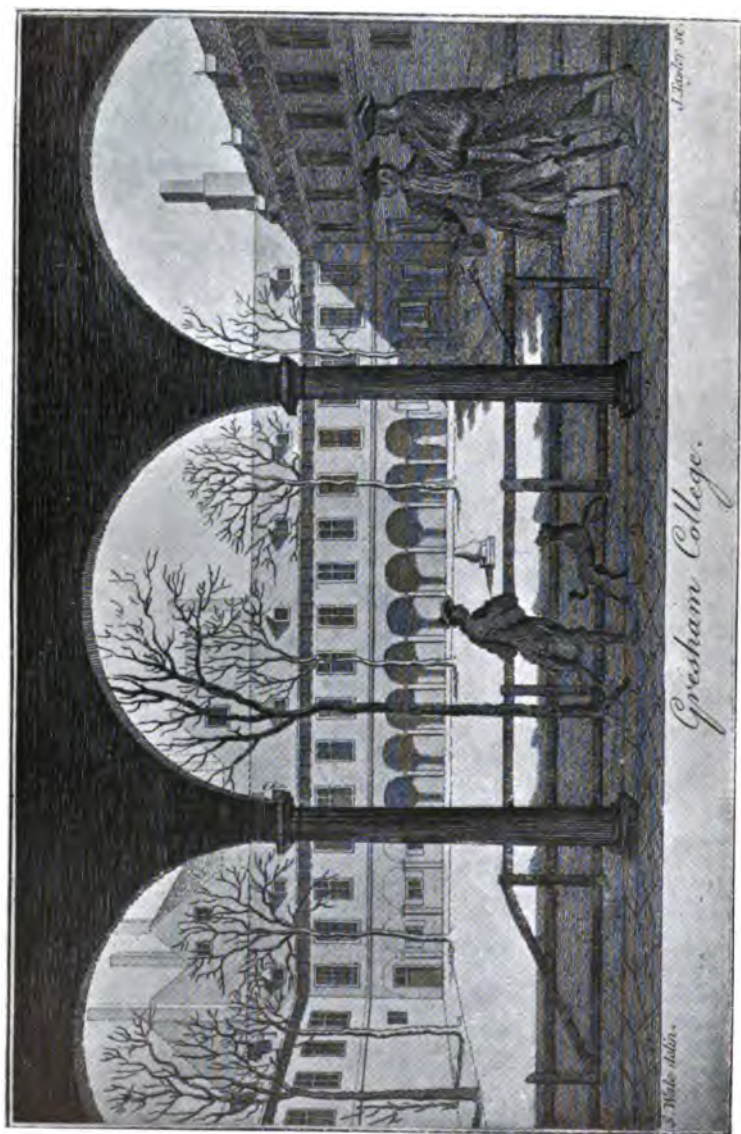
<sup>2</sup> [Which Clarendon rented of the Marquis of Worcester. Here on the 3rd September, 1660, between 11 and 2 at night, Anne Hyde was married to the Duke of York according to the rites of the English Church.]

<sup>3</sup> [See above, 21st December.]

<sup>4</sup> *A Character of England, as it was lately presented in a Letter to a Noble Man of France*, 1659, reprinted in Evelyn's *Miscellaneous Writings*, 1825, pp. 141-67.

<sup>5</sup> [See ante, p. 2.]





GRESHAM COLLEGE

30th December. I dined at Court with Mr. Crane, Clerk of the Green Cloth.<sup>1</sup>

31st. I gave God thanks for his many signal mercies to myself, church, and nation, this wonderful year.

1660-1: 2nd January. The Queen-mother, with the Princess Henrietta, began her journey to Portsmouth, in order to her return into France.<sup>2</sup>

5th. I visited my Lord Chancellor Clarendon, with whom I had been well acquainted abroad.

6th. Dr. Allestree<sup>3</sup> preached at the Abbey, after which four Bishops were consecrated, Hereford, Norwich, . . .

This night was suppressed a bloody insurrection of some Fifth-Monarchy enthusiasts.<sup>4</sup> Some of them were examined at the Council the next day; but could say nothing to extenuate their madness and unwarrantable zeal.

I was now chosen (and nominated by his Majesty for one of the Council), by suffrage of the rest of the Members, a Fellow of the Philosophic Society now meeting at Gresham College, where was an assembly of divers learned gentlemen.<sup>5</sup> This being the first meeting since the King's return; but it had been begun some years before at Oxford, and was continued with interruption here in London during the Rebellion.

There was another rising of the fanatics, in which some were slain.

16th. I went to the Philosophic Club,<sup>6</sup> where was examined the Torricellian experiment. I

<sup>1</sup> [See *ante*, p. 154.]

<sup>2</sup> [See *ante*, p. 154. At Portsmouth the Princess Henrietta fell ill, and they did not start until the 25th.]

<sup>3</sup> [Dr. Richard Allestree, 1619-81, Canon of Christchurch, and reputed author of the *Whole Duty of Man*.]

<sup>4</sup> [See *ante*, p. 122.]

<sup>5</sup> [*I.e.* the Royal Society.]

<sup>6</sup> [At Gresham College, the germ of the Royal Society. The club had previously met at the Bull Head Tavern in Cheapside.]

presented my Circle of Mechanical Trades, and had recommended to me the publishing what I had written of chalcography.<sup>1</sup>

*25th January.* After divers years since I had seen any play, I went to see acted *The Scornful Lady*, at a new theatre in Lincoln's-Inn-Fields.<sup>2</sup>

*30th.* Was the first solemn fast and day of humiliation to deplore the sins which had so long provoked God against this afflicted church and people, ordered by Parliament to be annually celebrated to expiate the guilt of the execrable murder of the late King.

This day (O the stupendous and inscrutable judgments of God!) were the carcasses of those arch-rebels, Cromwell, Bradshaw (the judge who condemned his Majesty), and Ireton (son-in-law to the Usurper), dragged out of their superb tombs in Westminster among the Kings, to Tyburn, and hanged on the gallows there from nine in the morning till six at night, and then buried under that fatal and ignominious monument in a deep pit; thousands of people who had seen them in all their pride being spectators. Look back at October 22, 1658,<sup>3</sup> and be astonished! and fear God and honour the King; but meddle not with them who are given to change!

*6th February.* To London, to our Society, where I gave notice of the visit of the Danish Ambassador Extraordinary, and was ordered to return him their acceptance of that honour, and to invite him the next meeting day.

*10th.* Dr. Boldero<sup>4</sup> preached at Ely-house, on

<sup>1</sup> See *post*, under 10th June, 1662.

<sup>2</sup> [A comedy by Beaumont and Fletcher, 1616. The theatre was *The Duke's Playhouse* in Portugal Row (originally Lisle's Tennis Court).]

<sup>3</sup> *Ante*, p. 136: the entry in the *Diary* describing the Protector's funeral.

<sup>4</sup> [Dr. Edmund Boldero, 1608-79, afterwards master of Jesus College, Cambridge.]



Matthew vi. 33, of seeking early the kingdom of God; after sermon, the Bishop (Dr. Wren)<sup>1</sup> gave us the blessing, very pontifically.

13th February. I conducted the Danish Ambassador to our meeting at Gresham College,<sup>2</sup> where were showed him various experiments *in vacuo*, and other curiosities.

21st. Prince Rupert<sup>3</sup> first showed me how to grave in *mezzo tinto*.

26th. I went to Lord Mordaunt's, at Parson's Green.<sup>4</sup>

27th. Ash-Wednesday. Preached before the King the Bishop of London (Dr. Sheldon)<sup>5</sup> on Matthew xviii. 25, concerning charity and forgiveness.

8th March. I went to my Lord Chancellor's, and delivered to him the state of my concernment at Sayes Court.

9th. I went with that excellent person and philosopher, Sir Robert Murray,<sup>6</sup> to visit Mr. Boyle at Chelsea, and saw divers effects of the æolipile for weighing air.<sup>7</sup>

13th. I went to Lambeth, with Sir R. Browne's

<sup>1</sup> [Dr. Matthew Wren, 1585-1667, Bishop of Ely.]

<sup>2</sup> [See *supra*, 16th January.]

<sup>3</sup> [Prince Rupert, 1619-82, third son of Frederick, Elector Palatine and titular King of Bohemia, by Elizabeth, daughter of James I. He long passed as the inventor of mezzotint engraving, which he had learned at Brussels from Ludwig von Siegen, an officer in the service of the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, 1609-76?] ]

<sup>4</sup> See *ante*, p. 119. The house was Peterborough House, which remained in the family until the eighteenth century, when it was sold to Mr. Heaviside, a timber merchant, who a few years after transferred it to Mr. Merrick, an army agent. It was then pulled down, to make way for a new building.

<sup>5</sup> [Dr. Gilbert Sheldon, 1598-1677, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury.]

<sup>6</sup> [One of the constitutors of the Royal Society.]

<sup>7</sup> [More accurately æolipile. It is said to have been invented by Hero of Alexandria in the second century B.C.]

pretence to the Wardenship of Merton College, Oxford, to which, as having been about forty years before a student of that House, he was elected by the votes of every Fellow except one: but the statutes of the House being so that, unless every Fellow agree, the election devolves to the Visitor, who is the Archbishop of Canterbury (Dr. Juxon),<sup>1</sup> his Grace gave his nomination to Sir T. Clayton, resident there, and the Physic Professor; for which I was not at all displeased, because, though Sir Richard missed it by much ingratitude and wrong of the Archbishop (Clayton being no Fellow), yet it would have hindered Sir Richard from attending at Court to settle his greater concerns, and so have prejudiced me, though he was much inclined to have passed his time in a collegiate life, very unfit for him at that time, for many reasons. So I took leave of his Grace, who was formerly Lord Treasurer in the reign of Charles I.<sup>2</sup>

This afternoon, Prince Rupert showed me, with his own hands, the new way of graving, called *mezzo tinto*, which afterwards, by his permission, I published in my *History of Chalcography*;<sup>3</sup> this set so many artists on work, that they soon arrived to the perfection it is since come, emulating the tenderest miniatures.

Our Society now gave in my relation of the Peak of Teneriffe, in the Great Canaries, to be added to more queries concerning divers natural things reported of that island.

I returned home with my Cousin, Tuke,<sup>4</sup> now going for France, as sent by his Majesty to condole

<sup>1</sup> [Dr. William Juxon, 1582-1663, Archbishop of Canterbury, 1660-63. He had been Lord High Treasurer, 1636-41.]

<sup>2</sup> [At Wotton House is preserved the crimson velvet Prayer Book used by the King on the scaffold (30th January, 1649). It was given by Juxon to Sir Richard Browne.]

<sup>3</sup> See *ante*, p. 158; and *post*, under 10th June, 1662.

<sup>4</sup> [See *ante*, p. 147. Cardinal Mazarin died 9th March, 1661.]





**THE BANQUETING-HOUSE AT WHITEHALL**

the death of that great Minister and politician, Count Mazarin.

29th March. Dr. Heylyn (author of the *Geography*)<sup>1</sup> preached at the Abbey, on Cant. v. 25, concerning friendship and charity; he was, I think, at this time quite dark [blind], and so had been for some years.

31st. This night, his Majesty promised to make my wife Lady of the Jewels (a very honourable charge) to the future Queen (but which he never performed).

1st April. I dined with that great mathematician and virtuoso, Monsieur Zulichem,<sup>2</sup> inventor of the pendule clock, and discoverer of the phenomenon of Saturn's annulus: he was elected into our Society.

19th. To London, and saw the Bath-ing and rest of the ceremonies of the Knights of the Bath, preparatory to the coronation; it was in the Painted Chamber, Westminster. I might have received this honour; but declined it. The rest of the ceremony was in the chapel at Whitehall, when their swords being laid on the altar, the Bishop delivered them.

22nd. Was the splendid cavalcade of his Majesty from the Tower of London to Whitehall, when I saw him in the Banqueting-house create six Earls, and as many Barons, viz.

Edward Lord Hyde,<sup>3</sup> Lord Chancellor, Earl of

<sup>1</sup> [Dr. Peter Heylyn, 1600-62. His *Geography* had appeared in 1621.]

<sup>2</sup> [Christian Huyghens van Zulichem (Hugenius), 1629-95, the mathematician and astronomer. He was in England at this date (see also *post*, under 3rd May, 1661).]

<sup>3</sup> "In the following year [1656 or 1657] some attempts were made to remove the Chancellor [Hyde], by accusing him of betraying his Ma<sup>ties</sup> Counsellors, and holding correspondence with Cromwell: but these allegations were so trivial and frivolous, that they manifestly appear'd to be nothing but the effects of malice against him, and therefore produced the

Clarendon ; supported by the Earls of Northumberland and Sussex ; the Earl of Bedford carried the cap and coronet, the Earl of Warwick, the sword, the Earl of Newport, the mantle.

Next, was Capel, created Earl of Essex.

Brudenell,	.	.	.	Cardigan ;
Valentia,	.	.	.	Anglesea ;
Grenville,	.	.	.	Bath ; and
Howard,	Earl of Carlisle. <sup>1</sup>			

The Barons were : Denzil Holles ; Cornwallis ;<sup>2</sup> Booth ; Townsend ; Cooper ; Crew ; who were led up by several Peers, with Garter and officers of arms before them ; when, after obedience on their

contrary effects to those which some desired, and strengthen'd the King's kindness to him ; as giving him just occasion to beleieve, that these suggestions against him, proceeded all from one and the same cause, namely, from the ambition which some people had, to enter in his room to the first trust of his Ma<sup>ties</sup> affairs, if once they could remove him from that Station."—*Clarke's Life of James the Second*, 1816, vol. i. p. 274.

<sup>1</sup> John Grenville, 1628-1701, was the son of the celebrated Royalist general, Sir Bevil Grenville, by whose side he had fought in several battles with great gallantry. During the Protectorate he had acted as Gentleman of the Bedchamber to Charles II., for whom he conducted negotiations with Monck. The new Earl of Carlisle was Charles, created Baron Dacre, Viscount and first Earl of Carlisle, 1629-85, who held several important offices. He was Ambassador to the Czar of Muscovy, and was afterwards sent with the Order of the Garter to Charles XII., King of Sweden. He was also Governor of Jamaica, 1677-81.

<sup>2</sup> Denzil Holles, 1599-1680, was second son of John, first Earl of Clare, and at the commencement of his career vigorously opposed in Parliament the arbitrary measures of Charles I. ; but during the Commonwealth he sought to restore the monarchy, for which, as we now see, he was created Baron Holles. He was employed as Ambassador Extraordinary to the Court of France, 1663-66, and Plenipotentiary at the Treaty of Breda. Nevertheless, he subsequently was held to have gone round to his old opinions, and was again under disfavour as a patriot in the latter days of his life. Cornwallis was Sir Frederick Cornwallis, Bart., *d.* 1662, here for his services to Charles I. and Charles II. created Baron Cornwallis, of Eye.

several approaches to the throne, their patents were presented by Garter King-at-Arms, which being received by the Lord Chamberlain, and delivered to his Majesty, and by him to the Secretary of State, were read, and then again delivered to his Majesty, and by him to the several Lords created; they were then robed, their coronets and collars put on by his Majesty, and they were placed in rank on both sides the state and throne; but the Barons put off their caps and circles, and held them in their hands, the Earls keeping on their coronets, as cousins to the King.

I spent the rest of the evening in seeing the several arch-triumphals built in the streets at several eminent places through which his Majesty was next day to pass, some of which, though temporary, and to stand but one year, were of good invention and architecture, with inscriptions.

*23rd April.* Was the Coronation of his Majesty Charles the Second in the Abbey Church of Westminster; at all which ceremony I was present. The King and his Nobility went to the Tower, I accompanying my Lord Viscount Mordaunt<sup>1</sup> part of the way; this was on Sunday, the 22nd; but indeed his Majesty went not till early this morning, and proceeded from thence to Westminster, in this order:<sup>2</sup>

First, went the Duke of York's Horse Guards. Messengers of the Chamber. 186 Esquires to the Knights of the Bath, each of whom had two, most richly habited. The Knight Harbinger. Serjeant

<sup>1</sup> [See *ante*, p. 119.]

<sup>2</sup> A full account of this ceremony, with elaborate engravings, by Hollar and others, appeared in 1662 in a folio volume published by John Ogilby, the "King's Cosmographer," 1600-76. [Its title was—*The Entertainment of his most excellent majestie Charles II., in his passage throug the city of London to his coronation.*] Ogilby was entrusted with the "poetical part" of the show.

Porter. Sewers of the Chamber. Quarter Waiters. Six Clerks of Chancery. Clerk of the Signet. Clerk of the Privy Seal. Clerks of the Council, of the Parliament, and of the Crown. Chaplains in ordinary having dignities, 10. King's Advocates and Remembrancer. Council at Law. Masters of the Chancery. Puisne Serjeants. King's Attorney and Solicitor. King's eldest Serjeant. Secretaries of the French and Latin tongue. Gentlemen Ushers. Daily Waiters, Sewers, Carvers, and Cupbearers in ordinary. Esquires of the body, 4. Masters of standing offices, being no Counsellors, viz. of the Tents, Revels, Ceremonies, Armoury, Wardrobe, Ordnance, Requests. Chamberlain of the Exchequer. Barons of the Exchequer. Judges. Lord Chief-Baron. Lord Chief-Justice of the Common Pleas. Master of the Rolls. Lord Chief-Justice of England. Trumpets. Gentlemen of the Privy Chamber. Knights of the Bath, 68, in crimson robes, exceeding rich, and the noblest show of the whole cavalcade, his Majesty excepted. Knight Marshal. Treasurer of the Chamber. Master of the Jewels. Lords of the Privy Council. Comptroller of the Household. Treasurer of the Household. Trumpets. Serjeant Trumpet. Two Pursuivants at Arms. Barons. Two Pursuivants at Arms. Viscounts. Two Heralds. Earls. Lord Chamberlain of the Household. Two Heralds. Marquises. Dukes. Heralds Clarenieux and Norroy. Lord Chancellor. Lord High Steward of England. Two persons representing the Dukes of Normandy and Aquitaine, viz. Sir Richard Fanshawe<sup>1</sup> and Sir Herbert Price, in fantastic habits of the time. Gentlemen Ushers. Garter. Lord Mayor of London. The Duke of York alone (the rest by two's). Lord High Constable of England. Lord Great Chamberlain

<sup>1</sup> [See *ante*, p. 51.]



of England. The sword borne by the Earl Marshal of England. The KING, in royal robes and equipage. Afterwards, followed equerries, footmen, gentlemen pensioners. Master of the Horse, leading a horse richly caparisoned. Vice-Chamberlain. Captain of the Pensioners. Captain of the Guard. The Guard. The Horse-Guard. The troop of Volunteers, with many other officers and gentlemen.

This magnificent train on horseback, as rich as embroidery, velvet, cloth of gold and silver, and jewels, could make them and their prancing horses, proceeded through the streets strewed with flowers, houses hung with rich tapestry, windows and balconies full of ladies; the London militia lining the ways, and the several companies, with their banners and loud music, ranked in their orders; the fountains running wine, bells ringing, with speeches made at the several triumphal arches; at that of the Temple Bar (near which I stood) the Lord Mayor was received by the Bailiff of Westminster, who, in a scarlet robe, made a speech. Thence, with joyful acclamations, his Majesty passed to Whitehall. Bonfires at night.

The next day, being St. George's, he went by water to Westminster Abbey. When his Majesty was entered, the Dean and Prebendaries brought all the regalia, and delivered them to several noblemen to bear before the King, who met them at the west door of the church, singing an anthem, to the choir. Then, came the peers, in their robes, and coronets in their hands, till his Majesty was placed on a throne elevated before the altar. Afterwards, the Bishop of London<sup>1</sup> (the Archbishop of Canterbury being sick)<sup>2</sup> went to every side of the throne to present the King to the people, asking if they would have him for their King, and do him homage;

<sup>1</sup> [Sheldon (see *ante*, p. 159).]

<sup>2</sup> [Juxon (see *ante*, p. 160).]

at this, they shouted four times "God save King Charles the Second!" Then, an anthem was sung. His Majesty, attended by three Bishops, went up to the altar, and he offered a pall and a pound of gold. Afterwards, he sate down in another chair during the sermon, which was preached by Dr. Morley, Bishop of Worcester.<sup>1</sup>

After sermon, the King took his oath before the altar to maintain the religion, Magna Charta, and laws of the land. The hymn *Veni S. Sp.* followed, and then the Litany by two Bishops. Then the Archbishop of Canterbury, present but much indisposed and weak, said "Lift up your hearts"; at which, the King rose up, and put off his robes and upper garments, and was in a waistcoat so opened in divers places, that the Archbishop might commodiously anoint him, first in the palms of his hands, when an anthem was sung, and a prayer read; then, his breast and betwixt the shoulders, bending of both arms; and, lastly, on the crown of the head, with apposite hymns and prayers at each anointing; this done, the Dean closed and buttoned up the waistcoat. After which, was a coif put on, and the cobbium, sindon or dalmatic, and over this a super-tunic of cloth of gold, with buskins and sandals of the same, spurs, and the sword; a prayer being first said over it by the Archbishop on the altar, before it was girt on by the Lord Chamberlain. Then, the armill, mantle, etc. Then, the Archbishop placed the crown-imperial on the altar, prayed over it, and set it on his Majesty's head, at which all the Peers put on their coronets. Anthems, and rare music, with lutes, viols, trumpets, organs, and voices, were then heard, and the Archbishop put a ring on his Majesty's finger. The King next offered his sword on the altar,

<sup>1</sup> [See *ante*, p. 19. He was not translated to Winchester until 1662.]

which being redeemed, was drawn, and borne before him. Then, the Archbishop delivered him the sceptre with the dove in one hand, and, in the other, the sceptre with the globe. The King kneeling, the Archbishop pronounced the blessing. His Majesty then ascending again his royal throne, whilst *Te Deum* was singing, all the Peers did their homage, by every one touching his crown. The Archbishop, and the rest of the Bishops, first kissing the King; who received the Holy Sacrament, and so disrobed, yet with the crown-imperial on his head, and accompanied with all the nobility in the former order, he went on foot upon blue cloth, which was spread and reached from the west door of the Abbey to Westminster stairs, when he took water in a triumphal barge to Whitehall, where was extraordinary feasting.

*24th April.* I presented his Majesty with his "Panegyric"<sup>1</sup> in the Privy Chamber, which he was pleased to accept most graciously; I gave copies to the Lord Chancellor, and most of the noblemen who came to me for it. I dined at the Marquis of Ormonde's, where was a magnificent feast, and many great persons.

*1st May.* I went to Hyde Park to take the air, where was his Majesty and an innumerable appearance of gallants and rich coaches, being now a time of universal festivity and joy.

*2nd.* I had audience of my Lord Chancellor<sup>2</sup> about my title to Sayes Court.

*3rd.* I went to see the wonderful engine for weaving silk stockings, said to have been the invention of an Oxford scholar forty years

<sup>1</sup> [*A Poem upon his Majesties Coronation the 23 of April, 1661, being St. Georges day.* London: 1661. From a letter of this date from Lord Mordaunt to Evelyn, it seems that King Charles had nervously inquired, first, whether the "panegyric" was in Latin, and secondly whether it was long.]

<sup>2</sup> [See *ante*, p. 161.]

since ;<sup>1</sup> and I returned by Fromantil's,<sup>2</sup> the famous clock-maker, to see some pendules, Monsieur Zulichem being with us.

This evening, I was with my Lord Brouncker,<sup>3</sup> Sir Robert Murray,<sup>4</sup> Sir Paul Neile,<sup>5</sup> Monsieur Zulichem,<sup>6</sup> and Bull (all of them of our Society, and excellent mathematicians), to show his Majesty, who was present, Saturn's annulus, as some thought, but as Zulichem affirmed with his Balteus (as that learned gentleman had published), very near eclipsed by the moon, near the Mons Porphyritis; also, Jupiter and satellites, through his Majesty's great telescope, drawing thirty-five feet; on which were divers discourses.

8th May. His Majesty rode in state, with his imperial crown on, and all the peers in their robes, in great pomp to the parliament now newly chosen (the old one being dissolved); and, that evening, declared in council his intention to marry the Infanta of Portugal.<sup>7</sup>

9th. At Sir Robert Murray's, where I met Dr. Wallis,<sup>8</sup> Professor of Geometry in Oxford, where was discourse of several mathematical subjects.

<sup>1</sup> [William Lee, M.A., of Cambridge, d. 1610. His invention being discouraged by Elizabeth and James I., he migrated to Rouen and died in France. His art was then brought back to this country by his brother (see Felkin's *History of the Machine-wrought Hosiery and Lace Manufactures*, 1867).]

<sup>2</sup> [See *ante*, p. 154.]

<sup>3</sup> Sir William, the second Viscount Brouncker, 1620-84, was the first President of the Royal Society; and several mathematical papers written by him are to be found in their *Transactions*. He was also Chancellor to Queen Catherine of Braganza, 1662, a Commissioner of the Admiralty, and Master of St. Catherine's Hospital, 1681.

<sup>4</sup> [See *ante*, p. 159.]

<sup>5</sup> [See *ante*, p. 111.]

<sup>6</sup> [See *ante*, p. 161.]

<sup>7</sup> [Catherine of Braganza.]

<sup>8</sup> John Wallis, 1616-1703, born at Ashford, in Kent, of which place his father was minister. Adopting the same profession, he took his degree of Doctor of Divinity, and obtained the living of St. Gabriel, Fenchurch Street, London, in 1643. He was one of

*11th May.* My wife presented to his Majesty the Madonna she had copied in miniature from P. Oliver's painting, after Raphael, which she wrought with extraordinary pains and judgment. The King was infinitely pleased with it, and caused it to be placed in his cabinet amongst his best paintings.

*18th.* I heard and saw such exercises at the election of scholars at Westminster school to be sent to the university in Latin, Greek, Hebrew, and Arabic, in themes and extemporary verses, as wonderfully astonished me in such youths, with such readiness and wit, some of them not above twelve, or thirteen years of age. Pity it is, that what they attain here so ripely, they either do not retain, or do not improve more considerably when they come to be men, though many of them do; and no less is to be blamed their odd pronouncing of Latin, so that out of England none were able to understand, or endure it. The examinants, or posers, were, Dr. Duport, Greek Professor at Cambridge;<sup>1</sup> Dr. Fell, Dean of Christ-Church, Oxford;<sup>2</sup> Dr.

the earliest members of the Royal Society. He was appointed chaplain to Charles II., and had been employed in decyphering intercepted correspondence, in which he was considered remarkably clever.

<sup>1</sup> James Duport, 1606-79. He finished his education at Trinity, and was appointed Regius Professor of Greek in 1639, but was deprived in 1656 for refusing the engagement. He was Prebendary of Lincoln and Archdeacon of Stow in 1641, and in 1660 chaplain to Charles II., when he was restored to his Greek Professorship, created Doctor of Divinity, made Dean of Peterborough, and, in 1668, elected Master of Magdalene College (see *post*, under 15th September, 1672).

<sup>2</sup> John Fell, 1625-86. He was removed from the grammar-school at Thame, when only eleven years of age, to become a student at Christ Church, Oxford, his father being at the time Vice-Chancellor of the University. Of this appointment the elder Fell was deprived by the Parliament, and his son expelled from his College, for having been in arms for the King. The father died upon hearing of the execution of Charles, but the son was not overlooked at the Restoration, receiving a stall at

Pearson,<sup>1</sup> Dr. Allestree, Dean of Westminster,<sup>2</sup> and any that would.

14th May. His Majesty was pleased to discourse with me concerning several particulars relating to our Society, and the planet Saturn, etc., as he sate at supper in the withdrawing-room to his bed-chamber.

16th. I dined with Mr. Garmus, the resident from Hamburgh, who continued his feast near nine whole hours, according to the custom of his country,<sup>3</sup> though there was no great excess of drinking, no man being obliged to take more than he liked.

22nd. The Scotch Covenant was burnt by the common hangman in divers places in London. Oh, prodigious change!

29th. This was the first anniversary appointed by Act of Parliament<sup>4</sup> to be observed as a day of General Thanksgiving for the miraculous restoration of his Majesty: our vicar preaching on Psalm cxviii. 24, requiring us to be thankful and rejoice, as indeed we had cause.

4th June. Came Sir Charles Harbord, his Majesty's surveyor, to take an account of what grounds I challenged at Sayes Court.

27th. I saw the Portugal Ambassador at dinner with his Majesty in state, where was excellent music.

Chichester, and afterwards a more valuable one at Christ Church. He served the office of Vice-Chancellor of the University in 1666, and, in 1675, was made Bishop of Oxford.

<sup>1</sup> [See *ante*, p. 64.]

<sup>2</sup> [See *ante*, p. 157.]

<sup>3</sup> [These prolonged state feasts were apparently not confined to Hamburgh. "On the 19th of February [1664] the Tsar invited Lord Carlisle [see *post*, under 29th December, 1662] and his suite to a dinner, which, beginning at two o'clock, lasted till eleven, when it was prematurely broken up by the Tsar's nose beginning to bleed" (Birrell's *Andrew Marvell*, 1905, 112).]

<sup>4</sup> [12 Car. II. c. 14.]

*2nd July.* I went to see the New Spring-Garden, at Lambeth, a pretty contrived plantation.<sup>1</sup>

*19th.* We tried our Diving-Bell, or engine, in the water-dock at Deptford, in which our curator continued half an hour under water ; it was made of cast lead, let down with a strong cable.

*3rd August.* Came my Lord Hatton, Comptroller of his Majesty's household, to visit me.<sup>2</sup>

*9th.* I tried several experiments on the sensitive plant<sup>3</sup> and humilis, which contracted with the least touch of the sun through a burning-glass, though it rises and opens only when it shines on it.

I first saw the famous Queen Pine<sup>4</sup> brought from Barbadoes, and presented to his Majesty ; but the first that were ever seen in England were those sent to Cromwell four years since.

I dined at Mr. Palmer's in Gray's Inn,<sup>5</sup> whose curiosity excelled in clocks and pendules, especially one that had innumerable motions, and played nine or ten tunes on the bells very finely, some of them set in parts ; which was very harmonious. It was wound up but once in a quarter. He had also good telescopes and mathematical instruments, choice pictures, and other curiosities. Thence, we went to that famous mountebank, Jo. Punteus.

Sir Kenelm Digby presented every one of us his Discourse of the Vegetation of Plants ;<sup>6</sup> and Mr. Henshaw, his History of Salt-Petre and

<sup>1</sup> Afterwards opened by Jonathan Tyers in June, 1732, as Vauxhall Gardens.

<sup>2</sup> [See *ante*, p. 13 n.]

<sup>3</sup> [See *ante*, p. 79.]

<sup>4</sup> A print was engraved in 1823 by Robert Graves, from a picture attributed to Henry Danckers at Strawberry-Hill, representing King Charles II. receiving this fruit from John Rose his gardener, who is presenting it on his knees at Dawney Court, Buckinghamshire, the seat of the Duchess of Cleveland. See *post*, under 19th August, 1668.

<sup>5</sup> [Dudley Palmer. He was a member of the Royal Society.]

<sup>6</sup> [*De Plantarum Vegetatione*, 1661. Digby discovered the necessity of oxygen to the life of plants.]

Gunpowder. I assisted him to procure his place of French Secretary to the King, which he purchased of Sir Henry De Vic.<sup>1</sup>

I went to that famous physician, Sir Fr. Prujean,<sup>2</sup> who showed me his laboratory, his work-house for turning, and other mechanics ; also many excellent pictures, especially the Magdalen of Caracci ; and some incomparable *paysages* done in distemper ; he played to me likewise on the *polythore*, an instrument having something of the harp, lute, and theorbo ; by none known in England, nor described by any author, nor used, but by this skilful and learned Doctor.

15th August. I went to Tunbridge-Wells, my wife being there for the benefit of her health. Walking about the solitudes, I greatly admired the extravagant turnings, insinuations, and growth of certain birch trees among the rocks.

18th September. I presented my *Fumifugium*,<sup>3</sup> dedicated to his Majesty, who was pleased that I should publish it by his special commands, being much gratified with it.

18th. This day was read our petition to his Majesty for his royal grant, authorising our Society to meet as a corporation, with several privileges.<sup>4</sup>

An exceeding sickly, wet autumn.

1st October. I sailed this morning with his Majesty in one of his yachts (or pleasure-boats), vessels not known among us till the Dutch East

<sup>1</sup> [See *ante*, vol. i. p. 56.]

<sup>2</sup> [Sir Francis Prujean, 1593-1666, President of the College of Physicians. He was knighted in this year.]

<sup>3</sup> *Fumifugium* : or, the Inconveniencie of the Aer and Smoak of London dissipated, etc., 1661. This pamphlet having become scarce, was in 1772 reprinted in 4to, and is now incorporated in Evelyn's *Miscellaneous Writings*, 1825, pp. 205-42.

<sup>4</sup> [The King granted a Charter to the Royal Society, 15th July, 1662. This being insufficient in some particulars, a new patent was substituted, 22nd April, 1663.]



India Company presented that curious piece to the King; being very excellent sailing vessels. It was on a wager between his other new pleasure-boat, built frigate-like, and one of the Duke of York's; the wager £100; the race from Greenwich to Gravesend and back. The King lost it going, the wind being contrary, but saved stakes in returning. There were divers noble persons and lords on board, his Majesty sometimes steering himself. His barge and kitchen boat attended. I brake fast this morning with the King at return in his smaller vessel, he being pleased to take me and only four more, who were noblemen, with him; but dined in his yacht, where we all eat together with his Majesty. In this passage he was pleased to discourse to me about my book inveighing against the nuisance of the smoke of London, and proposing expedients how, by removing those particulars I mentioned,<sup>1</sup> it might be reformed; commanding me to prepare a Bill against the next session of Parliament, being, as he said, resolved to have something done in it. Then he discoursed to me of the improvement of gardens and buildings, now very rare in England comparatively to other countries. He then commanded me to draw up the matter of fact happening at the bloody encounter which then had newly happened between the French and Spanish Ambassadors near the Tower,<sup>2</sup> contending for precedency, at the reception of the Swedish Ambassador; giving me order to consult Sir William Compton, Master of the Ordnance,<sup>3</sup> to inform me of what he knew of it, and with his

<sup>1</sup> In *Fumifugium*, before mentioned (p. 172).

<sup>2</sup> [The French Ambassador was Louis Godefroy, Count D'Estrades; the Spanish, the Baron de Watteville or Bateville.]

<sup>3</sup> [Sir William Compton, 1625-68. He had taken part in the Kentish Rising (see *ante*, p. 5).]

favourite, Sir Charles Berkeley,<sup>1</sup> captain of the Duke's life-guard, then present with his troop and three foot-companies; with some other reflections and instructions, to be prepared with a declaration to take off the reports which went about of his Majesty's partiality in the affairs, and of his officers' and spectators' rudeness whilst the conflict lasted. So I came home that night, and went next morning to London, where from the officers of the Tower, Sir William Compton, Sir Charles Berkeley, and others who were attending at this meeting of the Ambassadors three days before, having collected what I could, I drew up a narrative in vindication of his Majesty, and the carriage of his officers and standers-by.

On Thursday, his Majesty sent one of the pages of the back stairs for me to wait on him with my papers, in his cabinet, where was present only Sir Henry Bennet<sup>2</sup> (Privy-Purse), when beginning to read to his Majesty what I had drawn up, by the time I had read half a page, came in Mr. Secretary Morice<sup>3</sup> with a large paper, desiring to speak with his Majesty, who told him he was now very busy, and therefore ordered him to come again some other time; the Secretary replied that what he had in his hand was of extraordinary importance. So the King rose up, and, commanding me to stay, went aside to a corner of the room with the Secretary; after a while, the Secretary being despatched, his Majesty returning to me at the table, a letter was brought him from Madame out of France;<sup>4</sup> this he read and then bid me proceed

<sup>1</sup> Subsequently that Earl of Falmouth who was killed by the side of the Duke of York in the first Dutch war. He was Treasurer of the Household (see *post*, under 21st January, 1663).

<sup>2</sup> [Sir Henry Bennet, 1618-85, afterwards first Earl of Arlington, 1663, and Secretary of State, 1662-74.]

<sup>3</sup> [See *post*, under 10th September, 1663.]

<sup>4</sup> His sister Henrietta.

from where I left off. This I did till I had ended all the narrative, to his Majesty's great satisfaction; and, after I had inserted one or two more clauses, in which his Majesty instructed me, commanded that it should that night be sent to the Post-house, directed to the Lord Ambassador at Paris (the Earl of St. Albans),<sup>1</sup> and then at leisure to prepare him a copy, which he would publish.<sup>2</sup> This I did, and immediately sent my papers to the Secretary of State, with his Majesty's express command of despatching them that night for France. Before I went out of the King's closet, he called me back to show me some ivory statues, and other curiosities that I had not seen before.

*8rd October.* Next evening, being in the withdrawing-room adjoining the bedchamber, his Majesty espying me came to me from a great crowd of noblemen standing near the fire, and asked me if I had done; and told me he feared it might be a little too sharp, on second thoughts; for he had that morning spoken with the French Ambassador, who it seems had palliated the matter, and was very tame; and therefore directed me where I should soften a period or two, before it was published (as afterwards it was). This night also he spake to me to give him a sight of what was sent, and to bring it to him in his bedchamber; which I did, and received it again from him at dinner, next day. By Saturday, having finished it with all his Majesty's notes, the King being gone abroad, I sent the papers to Sir Henry Bennet (Privy-Purse and a great favourite), and slipped

<sup>1</sup> [See *ante*, p. 149.]

<sup>2</sup> [It was entitled *A Faithful and Impartial Narrative of what passed at the Landing of the Swedish Ambassador*, and is reprinted at the close of this volume, Appendix V. A chapter is also devoted to this episode in M. Jusserand's excellent *French Ambassador at the Court of Charles II.*, 1892, pp. 17-32.]

home, being myself much indisposed and harassed with going about, and sitting up to write.

19th October. I went to London to visit my Lord of Bristol,<sup>1</sup> having been with Sir John Denham (his Majesty's surveyor)<sup>2</sup> to consult with him about the placing of his palace at Greenwich, which I would have had built between the river and the Queen's house, so as a large square cut should have let in the Thames like a bay; but Sir John was for setting it on piles at the very brink of the water, which I did not assent to; and so came away, knowing Sir John to be a better poet than architect, though he had Mr. Webbe<sup>3</sup> (Inigo Jones's man) to assist him.

29th. I saw the Lord Mayor<sup>4</sup> pass in his water triumph to Westminster, being the first solemnity of this nature after twenty years.

2nd November. Came Sir Henry Bennet, since Lord Arlington, to visit me, and to acquaint me that his Majesty would do me the honour to come

<sup>1</sup> George Digby, second Earl of Bristol, 1612-77. Horace Walpole thus smartly sums up his character: "He wrote against Popery, and embraced it; he was a zealous opposer of the court, and a sacrifice for it: was conscientiously converted in the midst of his prosecution of lord Strafford, and was most unconscientiously a prosecutor of lord Clarendon. With great parts, he always hurt himself and his friends; with romantic bravery, he was always an unsuccessful commander. He spoke for the test-act, though a Roman Catholic, and addicted himself to astrology on the birth-day of true philosophy" (*Royal and Noble Authors*, 1806, vol. iii. pp. 205-6). Grammont mentions him, but in terms far from respectful: nor does he appear to more advantage in the annals of Bussy, or in the continuation of his life by Clarendon.

<sup>2</sup> [See *ante*, p. 70.]

<sup>3</sup> [John Webbe, 1611-72, Inigo Jones's pupil.]

<sup>4</sup> Sir John Frederick, Knight and Baronet. The account of the pageant for this day was published in *London's Triumphs . . . at the costs and charges of the Worshipfull Company of Grocers*. By John Tatham, 1661, 4to (see the *Gentleman's Magazine* for December 1824, p. 516). John Tatham, 1632-64, was a poet and dramatist who wrote the City pageants, 1657-64.

and see my garden ; but, it being then late, it was deferred.

8<sup>rd</sup> November. One Mr. Breton<sup>1</sup> preached his probation-sermon at our parish-church, and indeed made a most excellent discourse on John i. 29, of God's free grace to penitents, so that I could not but recommend him to the patron.

10<sup>th</sup>. In the afternoon, preached at the Abbey Dr. Basire, that great traveller, or rather French Apostle,<sup>2</sup> who had been planting the Church of England in divers parts of the Levant and Asia. He showed that the Church of England was, for purity of doctrine, substance, decency, and beauty, the most perfect under Heaven ; that England was the very land of Goshen.

11<sup>th</sup>. I was so idle as to go to see a play called *Love and Honour*.<sup>3</sup>—Dined at Arundel House ; and that evening discoursed with his Majesty about shipping, in which he was exceeding skilful.

15<sup>th</sup>. I dined with the Duke of Ormonde, who told me there were no moles in Ireland, nor any rats till of late, and that but in one county ; but it was a mistake that spiders would not live there, only they were not poisonous. Also, that they frequently took salmon with dogs.

16<sup>th</sup>. I presented my translation of *Naudæus*

<sup>1</sup> [Rev. Robert Breton, d. 1672. He obtained the living of Deptford, succeeding the Rev. Robert Littler (see *ante*, p. 138). Pepys writes of him on June 5, 1663 :—"To Deptford, where Dr. Britton, parson of the town, a fine man and good company, dined with us, and good discourse." "A very useful charitable man," Evelyn calls him elsewhere (see also *post*, under 20th February, 1672).]

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Isaac Basire, 1607-76. After various preferments and honours, the disturbed state of the country induced him to quit England, and he travelled in the Morea, to the Holy Land, and to Constantinople. On his return, Charles II. appointed him his Chaplain in Ordinary.

<sup>3</sup> A Tragi-Comedy, by Sir William Davenant, first acted at the Blackfriars, 1649 ; the performance took place in the morning.

concerning *Libraries* to my Lord Chancellor; but it was miserably false printed.<sup>1</sup>

17th November. Dr. Creighton,<sup>2</sup> a Scot, author of the *Florentine Council*, and a most eloquent man and admirable Grecian, preached on Cant. vi. 18, celebrating the return and restoration of the Church and King.

20th. At the Royal Society, Sir William Petty proposed divers things for the improvement of shipping; a versatile keel that should be on hinges, and concerning sheathing ships with thin lead.<sup>3</sup>

24th. This night his Majesty fell into discourse with me concerning bees, etc.

26th. I saw *Hamlet Prince of Denmark* played;<sup>4</sup> but now the old plays began to disgust this refined age, since his Majesty's being so long abroad.

28th. I dined at Chiffinch's<sup>5</sup> house-warming, in St. James's Park; he was his Majesty's closet-

<sup>1</sup> [*Instructions concerning Erecting of a Library: presented to My Lord the President de Mesme. By Gabriel Naudeus, P. and now interpreted by Jo. Evelyn, Esquire.* London: 1661. [It was a translation of Gabriel Naudé's *Avis pour dresser une Bibliothèque*, 1627.] Pepys, to whom the author gave a copy in 1665, comments as follows:—"Reading a book of Mr. Evelyn's translating . . . about directions for gathering a Library; but the book is above my reach" (*Diary*, October 5, 1665).]

<sup>2</sup> [See *ante*, p. 17.]

<sup>3</sup> [See *post*, under 22nd December, 1664. Sir William Petty, 1623-87, was a very versatile projector, physician, and political economist. Acquiescing in the Restoration, after a chequered career, he was knighted, became Commissioner of the Court of Claims, opened lead mines, established pilchard fisheries, and assisted in the Councils of the Royal Society. He wrote a method for equalising taxation, and acted as president of a philosophical society established in Dublin. See *post*, under 22nd March, 1675, where his character is drawn at large.]

<sup>4</sup> [Pepys seems to have been the following day (27th November, 1661). Earlier in the year he had seen Betterton act the Prince "beyond imagination" at the Opera (August 24, 1661).]

<sup>5</sup> [Thomas Chiffinch, 1600-66. He had been page to Charles I.]





TWO VIEWS OF ARUNDEL HOUSE, STRAND



keeper, and had his new house full of good pictures, etc. There dined with us Russell, Popish Bishop of Cape Verd, who was sent out to negotiate his Majesty's match with the Infanta of Portugal, after the Ambassador was returned.<sup>1</sup>

29th November. I dined at the Countess of Peterborough's, and went that evening to Parson's Green with my Lord Mordaunt,<sup>2</sup> with whom I stayed that night.

1st December. I took leave of my Lord Peterborough,<sup>3</sup> going now to Tangier, which was to be delivered to the English on the match with Portugal.

3rd. By universal suffrage of our philosophic assembly, an order was made and registered, that I should receive their public thanks for the honourable mention I made of them by the name of Royal Society, in my Epistle dedicatory to the Lord Chancellor, before my Traduction of Naudæus.<sup>4</sup> Too great an honour for a trifle.

4th. I had much discourse with the Duke of York, concerning strange cures he affirmed of a woman who swallowed a whole ear of barley, which worked out at her side. I told him of the *knife swallowed*<sup>5</sup> and the pins.

I took leave of the Bishop of Cape Verd, now going in the fleet to bring over our new Queen.

7th. I dined at Arundel House, the day when the great contest in Parliament was concerning the restoring the Duke of Norfolk; however, it was

<sup>1</sup> [See below, 4th December.]

<sup>2</sup> [See *ante*, p. 119.]

<sup>3</sup> [Henry Mordaunt, second Earl of Peterborough, 1624-97. He resigned his Governorship in a few months.]

<sup>4</sup> [See *ante*, p. 178.]

<sup>5</sup> This refers to the Dutchman, *ante*, vol. i. p. 42, and to an extraordinary case contained in a "*Miraculous cure of the Prussian Swallow Knife*, etc., by Dan. Lakin, P.C." 4to, London, 1642, with a woodcut representing the object of the cure, and the size of the knife.

carried for him. I also presented my little trifle of Sumptuary Laws, entitled *Tyrannus or The Mode*.<sup>1</sup>

14th December. I saw otter-hunting with the King, and killed one.

16th. I saw a French Comedy acted at Whitehall.

20th. The Bishop of Gloucester<sup>2</sup> preached at the Abbey, at the funeral of the Bishop of Hereford,<sup>3</sup> brother to the Duke of Albemarle. It was a decent solemnity. There was a silver mitre, with episcopal robes, borne by the herald before the hearse, which was followed by the Duke his brother, and all the Bishops, with divers noblemen.

28rd. I heard an Italian play and sing to the guitar with extraordinary skill before the Duke.

1661-2 : 1st January. I went to London, invited to the solemn foolery of the Prince de la Grange, at Lincoln's Inn, where came the King, Duke, etc. It began with a grand masque, and a formal pleading before the mock Princes, Grandees, Nobles, and Knights of the Sun. He had his Lord Chancellor, Chamberlain, Treasurer, and other Royal Officers, gloriously clad and attended. It ended in a magnificent banquet. One Mr. Lort was the young spark who maintained the pageantry.<sup>4</sup>

6th. This evening, according to custom, his Majesty opened the revels of that night by throwing the dice himself in the Privy-Chamber, where

<sup>1</sup> [*Tyrannus or the Mode*; in a *Discourse of Sumptuary Lawes*, London: 1661. It is reprinted at pp. 308-20 of vol. ii. of the 4to *Diary* of 1819 (second edition).]

<sup>2</sup> Dr. William Nicholson, 1591-1672; Bishop of Gloucester, 1661-72.

<sup>3</sup> [Dr. Nicholas Monck, 1610-61; Bishop of Hereford, 1660-61.]

<sup>4</sup> [See next entry, and *post*, under 9th January, 1668. Further particulars with regard to these "solemn fooleries" are to be found in Herbert's *Antiquities of the Inns of Court*, etc., 1804, 314; and Douthwaite's *Gray's Inn*, 1876, pp. 63-73.]

was a table set on purpose, and lost his £100. (The year before he won £1500.) The ladies also played very deep. I came away when the Duke of Ormonde had won about £1000, and left them still at passage, cards, etc. At other tables, both there and at the Groom-porter's, observing the wicked folly and monstrous excess of passion amongst some losers; sorry am I that such a wretched custom as play to that excess should be countenanced in a Court, which ought to be an example of virtue to the rest of the Kingdom.

9th January. I saw acted *The Third Part of the Siege of Rhodes*.<sup>1</sup> In this acted the fair and famous comedian called Roxalana from the part she performed;<sup>2</sup> and I think it was the last, she being taken to be the Earl of Oxford's *Miss* (as at this time they began to call lewd women). It was in recitative music.

10th. Being called into his Majesty's closet when Mr. Cooper, the rare limner,<sup>3</sup> was crayoning of the King's face and head, to make the stamps for the new milled money now contriving, I had the honour to hold the candle whilst it was doing, he choosing the night and candle-light for the better finding out the shadows.<sup>4</sup> During this, his

<sup>1</sup> [*The Siege of Rhodes* was a tragi-comedy in *Two Parts*, by Sir William Davenant, taken from *Measure for Measure* and *Much Ado about Nothing*. It was acted at the Duke's Theatre in Lincoln's Inn Fields, of which Davenant was, at this date, patentee. With *The Siege of Rhodes*, English Opera practically begins.]

<sup>2</sup> [Elizabeth Davenport. She had a son by the Earl of Oxford in 1664. There is some account of her in ch. ix. of Grammont's *Memoirs*.]

<sup>3</sup> [Samuel Cooper, 1609-72, the "English Vandyck" in little, a man of many gifts. Pepys greatly admired him; and he painted Mrs. Pepys in 1668. In the Royal Collection at Windsor Castle there are notable miniatures by Cooper of Charles II., Monmouth, and Albemarle.]

<sup>4</sup> This scene has been chosen as the subject of a picture by Daniel Maclise.

Majesty discoursed with me on several things relating to painting and graving.

11th *January*. I dined at Arundel House, where I heard excellent music performed by the ablest masters, both French and English, on theorbos, viols, organs, and voices, as an exercise against the coming of the Queen, purposely composed for her chapel. Afterwards, my Lord Aubigny<sup>1</sup> (her Majesty's Almoner to be) showed us his elegant lodging, and his wheel-chair for ease and motion, with divers other curiosities; especially a kind of artificial glass, or porcelain, adorned with *relievos* of paste, hard and beautiful. Lord Aubigny (brother to the Duke of Lennox) was a person of good sense, but wholly abandoned to ease and effeminacy.

I received of Sir Peter Ball, the Queen's Attorney, a draught of an Act against the nuisance of the smoke of London, to be reformed by removing several trades which are the cause of it, and endanger the health of the King and his people. It was to have been offered to the Parliament, as his Majesty commanded.<sup>2</sup>

12th. At St. James's chapel preached, or rather harangued, the famous orator, Monsieur Morus,<sup>3</sup> in French. There were present the King, Duke, French Ambassador, Lord Aubigny, Earl of Bristol, and a world of Roman Catholics, drawn thither to hear this eloquent Protestant.

15th. There was a general fast through the whole nation, and now celebrated in London, to avert God's heavy judgments on this land. Great rain had fallen without any frost, or seasonable cold, not only in England, but in Sweden, and the most northern parts, being here near as warm as at Midsummer in some years.

<sup>1</sup> [See *ante*, p. 46.]

<sup>2</sup> [See *ante*, p. 173.]

<sup>3</sup> Probably Alexander Morus (the antagonist of Milton), who was here in 1662.

This solemn fast was held for the House of Commons at St. Margaret's. Dr. Ryves, Dean of Windsor,<sup>1</sup> preached on Joshua vii. 12, showing how the neglect of exacting justice on offenders (by which he insinuated such of the old King's murderers as were yet reprieved and in the Tower) was a main cause of God's punishing a land. He brought in that of the Gibeonites, as well as Achan and others, concluding with an eulogy of the Parliament for their loyalty in restoring the Bishops and Clergy, and vindicating the Church from sacrilege.

*16th January.* Having notice of the Duke of York's intention to visit my poor habitation and garden this day, I returned, when he was pleased to do me that honour of his own accord, and to stay some time viewing such things as I had to entertain his curiosity. Afterwards, he caused me to dine with him at the Treasurer of the Navy's house, and to sit with him covered at the same table. There were his Highness, the Duke of Ormonde, and several Lords. Then they viewed some of my grounds about a project for a receptacle for ships to be moored in, which was laid aside as a fancy of Sir Nicholas Crisp.<sup>2</sup> After this, I accompanied the Duke to an East India vessel that lay at Blackwall, where we had entertainment of several curiosities. Amongst other spirituous drinks, as punch, etc., they gave us Canary that had been carried to and brought from the Indies, which was indeed incomparably good. I returned to London with his Highness. This night was acted before his Majesty *The Widow*, a lewd play.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> [Dr. Bruno Ryves, 1596-1677, Dean of Windsor, 1660-77, Chaplain in Ordinary to Charles II. He had published in 1642 the Royalist *Mercurius Rusticus*.]

<sup>2</sup> [See *ante*, p. 105.]

<sup>3</sup> [A Comedy by Ben Jonson, Fletcher, and Middleton. Pepys saw it in January, 1661.]

18th *January*. I came home to be private a little, not at all affecting the life and hurry of Court.

24th. His Majesty entertained me with his intentions of building his Palace of Greenwich, and quite demolishing the old one; on which I declared my thoughts.

25th. I dined with the Trinity-Company at their house, that Corporation being by charter fixed at Deptford.

8rd *February*. I went to Chelsea, to see Sir Arthur Gorges' house.<sup>1</sup>

11th. I saw a comedy acted before the Duchess of York at the Cockpit. The King was not at it.

17th. I went with my Lord of Bristol to see his house at Wimbledon,<sup>2</sup> newly bought of the Queen-Mother, to help contrive the garden after the modern. It is a delicious place for prospect and the thickets, but the soil cold and weeping clay. Returned that evening with Sir Henry Bennet.

This night was buried in Westminster-Abbey the Queen of Bohemia,<sup>3</sup> after all her sorrows and afflictions being come to die in the arms of her nephew, the King: also this night and the next day fell such a storm of hail, thunder, and light-

<sup>1</sup> [Beaufort House, Chelsea (see *post*, under 3rd September, 1683.)]

<sup>2</sup> Lord Bristol (see *ante*, p. 176) bought Wimbledon House of Henrietta Maria in 1661. It was eventually purchased by Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough, who erected a new building, which was burned down in 1785. The property afterwards passed to the Spencer family, who substituted a smaller house designed by Henry Holland. There are two scarce and curious views of the old house, engraved by Winstanley, and dated 1678.

<sup>3</sup> Elizabeth, Electress Palatine, daughter of James I., the unfortunate "Queen of Hearts," many of whose letters are included in the correspondence of Evelyn. She died at Leicester House, Leicester Fields. (See *ante*, vol. i. p. 29.)

ning, as never was seen the like in any man's memory, especially the tempest of wind, being south-west, which subverted, besides huge trees, many houses, innumerable chimneys (amongst others that of my parlour at Sayes Court), and made such havoc at land and sea, that several perished on both. Divers lamentable fires were also kindled at this time; so exceedingly was God's hand against this ungrateful and vicious nation and Court.

*20th February.* I returned home to repair my house, miserably shattered by the late tempest.

*24th March.* I returned home with my whole family, which had been most part of the winter, since October, at London, in lodgings near the Abbey of Westminster.

*6th April.* Being of the Vestry, in the afternoon we ordered that the communion-table should be set (as usual) altar-wise, with a decent rail in front, as before the Rebellion.

*17th.* The young Marquis of Argyll,<sup>1</sup> whose turbulent father was executed in Scotland, came to see my garden. He seemed a man of parts.

*7th May.* I waited on Prince Rupert to our Assembly, where were tried several experiments in Mr. Boyle's *vacuum*. A man thrusting in his arm, upon exhaustion of the air, had his flesh immediately swelled so as the blood was near bursting the veins: he drawing it out, we found it all speckled.

*14th.* To London, being chosen one of the Commissioners for reforming the buildings, ways,

<sup>1</sup> Archibald Campbell, ninth Earl, *d.* 1685, who, notwithstanding his father's attainder, which forfeited the marquissate, was permitted to inherit the ancient Earldom of his family. Evelyn seems at once to have discovered him in this interview to be "a man of parts." And he greatly deplored his subsequent execution for treason (see Macaulay's *History of England*, 1866, vol. i. ch. v.).

streets, and incumbrances, and regulating the hackney coaches in the City of London, taking my oath before my Lord Chancellor, and then went to his Majesty's Surveyor's Office, in Scotland-Yard, about naming and establishing officers, adjourning till the 16th, when I went to view how St. Martin's Lane might be made more passable into the Strand. There were divers gentlemen of quality in this commission.

25th May. I went this evening to London, in order to our journey to Hampton Court, to see the new Queen, who, having landed at Portsmouth, had been married to the King a week before by the Bishop of London.<sup>1</sup>

30th. The Queen arrived with a train of Portuguese ladies in their monstrous fardingales, or guard-infantes,<sup>2</sup> their complexions olivader<sup>3</sup> and sufficiently unagreeable. Her Majesty in the same habit, her fore-top long and turned aside very strangely.<sup>4</sup> She was yet of the handsomest countenance of all the rest, and, though low of stature, prettily shaped, languishing and excellent eyes, her teeth wronging her mouth by sticking a little too far out; for the rest, lovely enough.

<sup>1</sup> [The Queen arrived at Portsmouth on 13th May. The King joined her there on the 20th. They were married privately next day, according to the rites of the Romish Church, by her Almoner, Stuart d'Aubigny, in the presence of Philip Howard and others. The Bishop of London (Sheldon) afterwards pronounced them man and wife.]

<sup>2</sup> [See note from Lassels, vol. i. p. 134.]

<sup>3</sup> "Olivader" is a dark olive complexion. Grammont is very uncomplimentary to these poor ladies. He styles them "six frights, who called themselves maids of honour, and a duenna, another monster, who took the title of governess to these extraordinary beauties" (*Memoirs*, ch. vi.).

<sup>4</sup> [Which made King Charles say they had brought him "a bat instead of a woman." But he thought her eyes "excellent good." "She hath as much agreeableness in her looks as ever I saw," he wrote, "and if I have any skill in physiognomy, which I think I have, she must be as good a woman as ever was born."]



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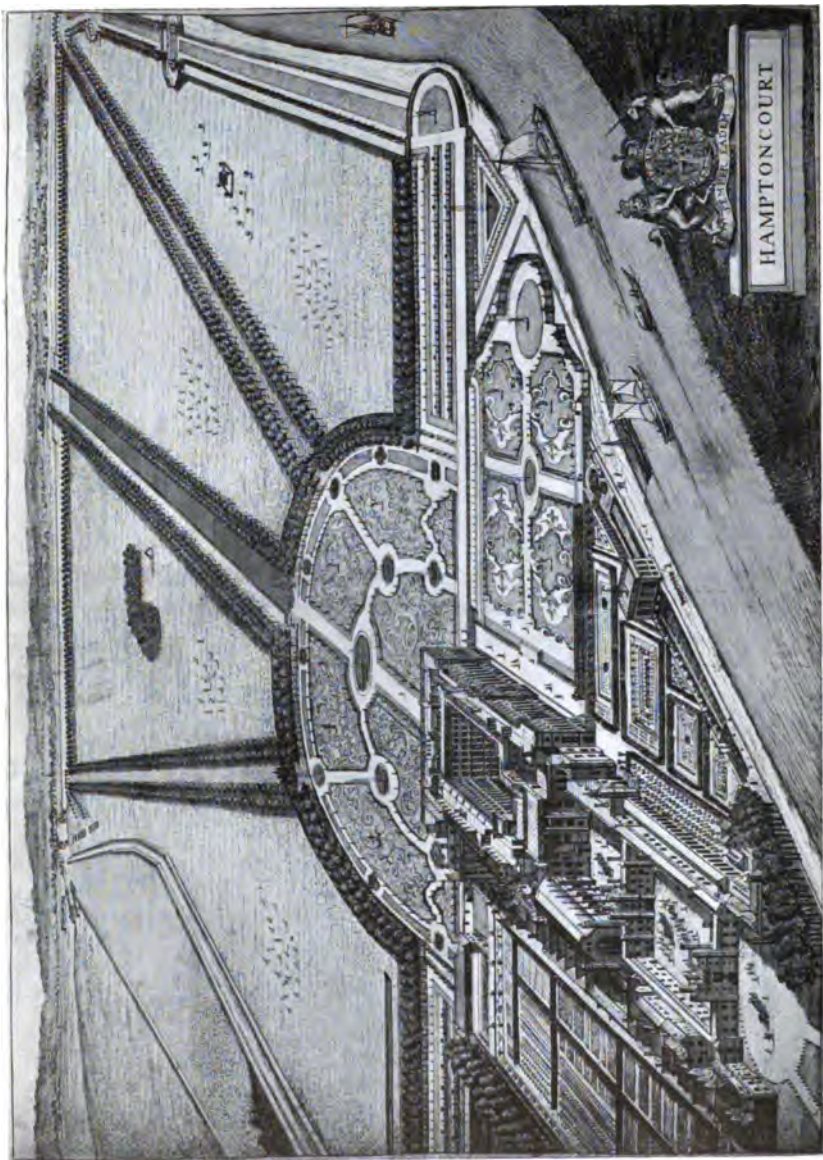
*Queen Catherine of Braganza*





*Queen of Bagan*





HAMPTON COURT

81st May. I saw the Queen at dinner; the Judges came to compliment her arrival, and, after them, the Duke of Ormonde brought me to kiss her hand.

2nd June. The Lord Mayor and Aldermen made their addresses to the Queen, presenting her £1000 in gold. Now saw I her Portuguese ladies, and the Guarda-damas, or Mother of her Maids,<sup>1</sup> and the old knight, a lock of whose hair quite covered the rest of his bald pate, bound on by a thread, very oddly. I saw the rich gondola sent to his Majesty from the State of Venice; but it was not comparable for swiftness to our common wherries, though managed by Venetians.

4th. Went to visit the Earl of Bristol, at Wimbledon.<sup>2</sup>

8th. I saw her Majesty at supper privately in her bedchamber.<sup>3</sup>

9th. I heard the Queen's Portugal music, consisting of pipes, harps, and very ill voices.

Hampton Court is as noble and uniform a pile, and as capacious as any Gothic architecture can have made it. There is an incomparable furniture in it, especially hangings designed by Raphael, very rich with gold; also many rare pictures, especially the Cæsarean Triumphs of Andrea Mantegna, formerly the Duke of Mantua's; of the tapestries, I believe the world can show nothing nobler of the kind than the stories of

<sup>1</sup> The Maids of Honour had a Mother at least as early as the reign of Elizabeth. The office is supposed to have been abolished about the period of the Revolution of 1688.

<sup>2</sup> [See *ante*, p. 176.]

<sup>3</sup> [At Hampton Court (see *ante*, p. 3), which had been remodelled and refurnished by Charles II. (see also *post*, under 23rd August). Before the Restoration it had been occupied by Cromwell (*ante*, p. 115 n.). In November, 1657, his daughter Mary had been married there to Thomas Belasyse, Lord Fauconberg; and at Hampton Court (6th August, 1658), four weeks before his own death, died his favourite daughter, Elizabeth Claypole.]

Abraham and Tobit. The gallery of horns is very particular for the vast beams of stags, elks, antelopes, etc. The Queen's bed was an embroidery of silver on crimson velvet, and cost £8000, being a present made by the States of Holland when his Majesty returned, and had formerly been given by them to our King's sister, the Princess of Orange, and, being bought of her again, was now presented to the King. The great looking-glass and toilet, of beaten and massive gold, was given by the Queen-Mother. The Queen brought over with her from Portugal such Indian cabinets as had never before been seen here. The great hall is a most magnificent room. The chapel-roof excellently fretted and gilt. I was also curious to visit the wardrobe and tents, and other furniture of state. The park, formerly a flat and naked piece of ground, now planted with sweet rows of lime trees; and the canal for water now near perfected; also the hare-park. In the garden is a rich and noble fountain, with Sirens, statues, etc., cast in copper, by Fanelli; but no plenty of water. The cradle-work of hornbeam in the garden is, for the perplexed twining of the trees, very observable. There is a parterre which they call Paradise, in which is a pretty banqueting-house set over a cave, or cellar. All these gardens might be exceedingly improved, as being too narrow for such a palace.

10th June. I returned to London, and presented my *History of Chalcography* (dedicated to Mr. Boyle) to our Society.<sup>1</sup>

19th. I went to Albury, to visit Mr. Henry

<sup>1</sup> [*Sculptura: or the History, and Art of Chalcography and Engraving in Copper . . . To which is annexed a new Manner of Engraving, or Mezzo Tinto, communicated by his Highness Prince Rupert to the Authour of this Treatise.* London: 1662. See *ante*, p. 158, and *Miscellaneous Writings*, 1825, pp. 243-336.]





SCULPTURA:  
OR THE  
HISTORY, and ART  
OF  
CHALCOGRAPHY  
AND  
Engraving in Copper.

WITH  
An ample enumeration of the most re-  
nowned Masters, and their Works.

To which is annexed

A new manner of Engraving, or *Mezzo Tinto*,  
communicated by his Highness *Prince Rupert*  
to the Authour of this Treatise.



XXXI. EXOD. XXXV.

*Implevi eum Spiritu Dei, Sapientia, & Intelligentia,  
& Scientia in omni Opere, &c.*

---

L O N D O N,

Printed by J. C. for G. Beedle, and T. Collins, at the Middle-  
Temple Gate, and J. Crook in St. Pauls Church-yard, 1662.

FACSIMILE OF THE TITLE-PAGE OF "SCULPTURA," 1662

Howard,<sup>1</sup> soon after he had procured the Dukedom to be restored. This gentleman had now compounded a debt of £200,000, contracted by his grandfather.<sup>2</sup> I was much obliged to that great virtuoso, and to this young gentleman, with whom I stayed a fortnight.

*2nd July.* We hunted and killed a buck in the park, Mr. Howard inviting most of the gentlemen of the country near him.

*3rd.* My wife met me at Woodcote, whither Mr. Howard accompanied me to see my son John, who had been much brought up amongst Mr. Howard's children at Arundel House, till, for fear of their perverting him in the Catholic religion, I was forced to take him home.

*8th.* To London, to take leave of the Duke and Duchess of Ormonde, going then into Ireland with an extraordinary retinue.

*18th.* Spent some time with the Lord Chancellor, where I had discourse with my Lord Willoughby, Governor of Barbadoes,<sup>3</sup> concerning divers particulars of that colony.

*28th.* His Majesty going to sea to meet the Queen-Mother, now coming again for England,<sup>4</sup> met with such ill weather as greatly endangered him. I went to Greenwich, to wait on the Queen, now landed.

*30th.* To London, where was a meeting about Charitable Uses, and particularly to inquire how the City had disposed of the revenues of Gresham College, and why the salaries of the professors there were no better improved. I was on this commission, with divers Bishops and Lords of the Council; but little was the progress we could make.

*31st.* I sat with the Commissioners about

<sup>1</sup> [See *ante*, vol. i. p. 312.]

<sup>2</sup> [See *ante*, vol. i. pp. 22, 307.]

<sup>3</sup> [See *ante*, p. 133.]

<sup>4</sup> [She had left Paris, 25th July.]

reforming buildings and streets of London, and we ordered the paving of the way from St. James's North, which was a quagmire, and also of the Haymarket about Piccadilly,<sup>1</sup> and agreed upon instructions to be printed and published for the better keeping the streets clean.

*1st August.* Mr. H. Howard, his brothers Charles, Edward, Bernard, Philip,<sup>2</sup> now the Queen's Almoner (all brothers of the Duke of Norfolk, still in Italy), came with a great train, and dined with me; Mr. H. Howard leaving with me his eldest and youngest sons, Henry and Thomas, for three or four days, my son, John, having been sometime bred up in their father's house.<sup>3</sup>

*4th.* Came to see me the old Countess of Devonshire,<sup>4</sup> with that excellent and worthy person, my Lord her son, from Roehampton.

*5th.* To London, and next day to Hampton Court, about my purchase, and took leave of Sir R. Fanshawe,<sup>5</sup> now going Ambassador to Portugal.

*13th.* Our Charter being now passed under the broad Seal, constituting us a corporation under the name of the Royal Society for the improvement of natural knowledge by experiment, was this day read, and was all that was done this afternoon, being very large.

*14th.* I sat on the commission for Charitable Uses, the Lord Mayor and others of the Mercers' Company being summoned, to answer some com-

<sup>1</sup> [Which Evelyn spells "Piquillo."]

<sup>2</sup> Since Cardinal at Rome.—*Evelyn's Note.* (See *ante*, vol. i. p. 317.)

<sup>3</sup> [See *ante*, p. 189.]

<sup>4</sup> Christiana Cavendish, Countess of Devonshire, *d.* 1675, an ardent Royalist and patron of the wits. She was the widow of William Cavendish, second Earl of Devonshire. Charles II. frequently visited her with the Queen-Mother and the Royal Family. There is a life of her by Thomas Pomfret, 1685.

<sup>5</sup> [See *ante*, p. 51. He was Ambassador to Portugal, 1662-63.]

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*Portrait of Lord Clarendon*

*Portrait of Lord Clarendon*

*Edward Hyde, first Earl of Clarendon*

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*Edward Lytle first Earl of Glarendon*



plaints of the Professors, grounded on a clause in the will of Sir Thomas Gresham, the founder.

This afternoon, the Queen-Mother, with the Earl of St. Albans<sup>1</sup> and many great ladies and persons, was pleased to honour my poor villa with her presence, and to accept of a collation. She was exceedingly pleased, and staid till very late in the evening.

15th August. Came my Lord Chancellor (the Earl of Clarendon) and his lady, his purse and mace borne before him, to visit me. They were likewise collationed with us, and were very merry. They had all been our old acquaintance in exile, and indeed this great person had ever been my friend. His son, Lord Cornbury,<sup>2</sup> was here, too.

17th. Being the Sunday when the Common Prayer-Book, reformed and ordered to be used for the future, was appointed to be read, and the solemn League and Covenant to be abjured by all the incumbents of England under penalty of losing their livings;<sup>3</sup> our vicar read it this morning.

20th. There were strong guards in the city this day, apprehending some tumults, many of the Presbyterian ministers not conforming. I dined with the Vice-Chamberlain, and then went to see the Queen-Mother, who was pleased to give me many thanks for the entertainment she received at my house, when she recounted to me many observable stories of the sagacity of some dogs she formerly had.

21st. I was admitted and then sworn one of the Council of the Royal Society, being nominated in

<sup>1</sup> [See *ante*, p. 149.]

<sup>2</sup> [Henry Hyde, Lord Cornbury, 1638-1709, afterwards second Earl of Clarendon (see *post*, under 17th October, 1664).]

<sup>3</sup> [A great many of them resigned their livings in consequence.]

his Majesty's original grant to be of this Council for the regulation of the Society, and making laws and statutes conducive to its establishment and progress, for which we now set apart every Wednesday morning till they were all finished.<sup>1</sup> Lord Viscount Brouncker<sup>2</sup> (that excellent mathematician) was also by his Majesty, our founder, nominated our first President. The King gave us the arms of England to be borne in a canton in our arms, and sent us a mace of silver gilt, of the same fashion and bigness as those carried before his Majesty, to be borne before our president on meeting days. It was brought by Sir Gilbert Talbot, Master of his Majesty's Jewel-house.

*22nd August.* I dined with my Lord Brouncker and Sir Robert Murray, and then went to consult about a new-modelled ship at Lambeth, the intention being to reduce that art to as certain a method as any other part of architecture.

*23rd.* I was spectator of the most magnificent triumph that ever floated on the Thames,<sup>3</sup> considering the innumerable boats and vessels, dressed and adorned with all imaginable pomp, but, above all, the thrones, arches, pageants, and other representations, stately barges of the Lord Mayor and Companies, with various inventions, music and peals of ordnance both from the vessels and the shore, going to meet and conduct the new Queen

<sup>1</sup> [See *ante*, pp. 157, 172, 190. The Society's full title was "The President, Council, and Fellows of the Royal Society of London, for and improving of natural Knowledge." In 1667 Thomas Sprat, afterwards Bishop of Rochester, and one of the original Fellows, wrote its history, which included an Ode by Cowley. Henry Oldenburg, 1615-77, was the first Secretary.]

<sup>2</sup> [See *ante*, p. 168.]

<sup>3</sup> An account of this solemnity was published in *Aqua Triumphalis: being a true relation of the honourable the City of London entertaining their sacred Majesties upon the river of Thames, and welcoming them from Hampton Court to Whitehall, etc.* Engraved by John Tatham, Gent., folio, 1662.

from Hampton Court to Whitehall, at the first time of her coming to town. In my opinion, it far exceeded all the Venetian Bucentoras, etc., on the Ascension, when they go to espouse the Adriatic.<sup>1</sup> His Majesty and the Queen came in an antique-shaped open vessel, covered with a state, or canopy, of cloth of gold, made in form of a cupola, supported with high Corinthian pillars, wreathed with flowers, festoons and garlands. I was in our new-built vessel, sailing amongst them.

*29th August.* The Council and Fellows of the Royal Society went in a body to Whitehall, to acknowledge his Majesty's royal grace in granting our Charter, and vouchsafing to be himself our Founder; when the President made an eloquent speech, to which his Majesty gave a gracious reply, and we all kissed his hand. Next day, we went in like manner with our address to my Lord Chancellor, who had much promoted our patent: he received us with extraordinary favour. In the evening, I went to the Queen-Mother's Court, and had much discourse with her.

*1st September.* Being invited by Lord Berkeley, I went to Durdans,<sup>2</sup> where dined his Majesty, the Queen, Duke, Duchess, Prince Rupert, Prince Edward, and abundance of noblemen. I went, after dinner, to visit my brother of Woodcote,<sup>3</sup> my sister having been delivered of a son a little before, but who had now been two days dead.

*4th.* Commission for Charitable Uses, my Lord Mayor and Aldermen being again summoned, and the improvements of Sir Thomas Gresham's estate examined. There were present the Bishop of London, the Lord Chief Justice, and the King's Attorney.

<sup>1</sup> [See *ante*, vol. i. p. 287.]

<sup>2</sup> [See *ante*, p. 134.]

<sup>3</sup> [At Epsom.]

6th September. Dined with me Sir Edward Walker, Garter King-at-Arms,<sup>1</sup> Mr. Slingsby, Master of the Mint,<sup>2</sup> and several others.

17th. We now resolved that the Arms of the Society should be a field Argent, with a canton of the arms of England; the supporters two talbots Argent: crest, an eagle Or holding a shield with the like arms of England, viz. three lions. The words *Nullius in verba*.<sup>3</sup> It was presented to his Majesty for his approbation, and orders given to Garter King-at-Arms to pass the diploma of their office for it.

20th. I presented a petition to his Majesty about my own concerns, and afterwards accompanied him to Monsieur Lefevre, his chemist (and who had formerly been my master in Paris),<sup>4</sup> to see his accurate preparation for the composing Sir Walter Raleigh's rare cordial: he made a learned discourse before his Majesty in French on each ingredient.

27th. Came to visit me Sir George Savile,<sup>5</sup> grandson to the learned Sir Henry Savile, who published *St. Chrysostom*.<sup>6</sup> Sir George was a witty gentleman, if not a little too prompt and daring.

3rd October. I was invited to the College of Physicians, where Dr. Merret,<sup>7</sup> a learned man and library-keeper, showed me the library, theatre for anatomy, and divers natural curiosities; the statue and epigram under it of that renowned physician, Dr. Harvey, discoverer of the circulation of the blood. There I saw Dr. Gilbert, Sir William

<sup>1</sup> [See *post*, under 18th August, 1673.]

<sup>2</sup> [See *post*, under 27th August, 1666.]

<sup>3</sup> [Horace, *Ep.* I. l. 14.]

<sup>4</sup> [See *ante*, p. 1.]

<sup>5</sup> Afterwards the celebrated Marquis of Halifax, 1633-95.

<sup>6</sup> [Sir Henry Savile, 1549-1622. His *Chrysostom* was published 1610-13.]

<sup>7</sup> Christopher Merret, 1614-95, a celebrated physician and naturalist, and fellow of the Royal Society.

Paddy's and other pictures of men famous in their faculty.

Visited Mr. Wright,<sup>1</sup> a Scotchman, who had lived long at Rome, and was esteemed a good painter. The pictures of the Judges at Guildhall are of his hand, and so are some pieces in Whitehall, as the roof in his Majesty's old bedchamber, being Astræa, the St. Catherine, and a chimney-piece in the Queen's privy chamber; but his best, in my opinion, is Lacy, the famous Roscius or comedian, whom he has painted in three dresses, as a gallant, a Presbyterian minister, and a Scotch highlander in his plaid.<sup>2</sup> It is in his Majesty's dining-room at Windsor. He had at his house an excellent collection, especially that small piece of Correggio, Scotus of de la Marca, a design of Paolo; and, above all, those ruins of Polydore, with some good agates and medals, especially a Scipio, and a Cæsar's head of gold.

15th October. I this day delivered my *Discourse concerning Forest-Trees* to the Society,<sup>3</sup> upon occasion of certain queries sent to us by the Commissioners of his Majesty's Navy, being the first book that was printed by order of the

<sup>1</sup> [See *ante*, p. 137.]

<sup>2</sup> A private etching from this picture was made in 1825 by William Hopkins, one of the Court pages. John Lacy, d. 1681, is represented in his three principal characters, namely, Teague, in *The Committee*; Scruple, in *The Cheats*; and Galliard, in *The Variety*. He belonged to Killigrew's company, and was the original actor of "Bayes" of Buckingham's *Rehearsal*, 1671.

<sup>3</sup> [*Sylva, or a Discourse of Forest-Trees, and the Propagation of Timber in His Majesty's Dominions. By J. E., Esq.; As it was Deliver'd in the Royal Society the XVth of October, CIOCLXII., upon Occasion of certain Queries propounded to that Illustrious Assembly, by the Honourable the Principal Officers, and Commissioners of the Navy. To which is annexed Pomona; or, an Appendix concerning Fruit-Trees in relation to Cider, the Making and several ways of Ordering it. Published by express Order of the Royal Society. Also Kalendarium Hortense; or, Gard'ner's Almanac; directing what he is to do Monethly during the Year. London, 1664.*]

Society, and by their printer, since it was a Corporation.

16th October. I saw *Volpone*<sup>1</sup> acted at Court before their Majesties.

21st. To the Queen-Mother's Court, where her Majesty related to us divers passages of her escapes during the Rebellion and wars in England.

28th. To Court in the evening, where the Queen - Mother, the Queen - Consort, and his Majesty, being advertised of some disturbance, forbore to go to the Lord Mayor's show and feast appointed next day, the new Queen not having yet seen that triumph.

29th. Was my Lord Mayor's Show,<sup>2</sup> with a number of sumptuous pageants, speeches, and verses. I was standing in a house in Cheapside against the place prepared for their Majesties. The Prince and heir of Denmark was there, but not our King. There were also the maids of honour. I went to Court this evening, and had much discourse with Dr. Basire,<sup>3</sup> one of his Majesty's chaplains, the great traveller, who showed me the synographs and original subscriptions of divers eastern patriarchs and Asian churches to our confession.

4th November. I was invited to the wedding of the daughter of Sir George Carteret<sup>4</sup> (the Treasurer of the Navy and King's Vice-Chamberlain), married to Sir Nicholas Slaning, Knight of the Bath, by the Bishop of London, in the Savoy chapel; after which was an extraordinary feast.

5th. The Council of the Royal Society met to

<sup>1</sup> [*Volpone; or, the Fox*, by Ben Jonson, 1605. Pepys saw this at the King's House on the 14th January, 1665.]

<sup>2</sup> Sir John Robinson, Knt. and Bart., Clothworker. The pageant on this occasion, which was the same as in the preceding year (see note, *ante*, p. 176), was at the charge of the Clothworkers' Company.

<sup>3</sup> Basire (see *ante*, p. 177).

<sup>4</sup> [See *ante*, p. 15.]

amend the Statutes, and dined together : afterwards meeting at Gresham College, where was a discourse suggested by me, concerning planting his Majesty's Forest of Dean with oak, now so much exhausted of the choicest ship-timber in the world.

20th November. Dined with the Comptroller, Sir Hugh Pollard ;<sup>1</sup> afterwards, saw *The Young Admiral*<sup>2</sup> acted before the King.

21st. Spent the evening at Court, Sir Kenelm Digby giving me great thanks for my *Sylva*.<sup>3</sup>

27th. Went to London to see the entrance of the Russian Ambassador, whom his Majesty ordered to be received with much state, the Emperor not only having been kind to his Majesty in his distress, but banishing all commerce with our nation during the Rebellion.

First, the City Companies and trained Bands were all in their stations : his Majesty's Army and Guards in great order. His Excellency came in a very rich coach, with some of his chief attendants ; many of the rest on horseback, clad in their vests, after the Eastern manner, rich furs, caps, and carrying the presents, some carrying hawks, furs, teeth, bows, etc. It was a very magnificent show.

I dined with the Master of the Mint,<sup>4</sup> where was old Sir Ralph Freeman ;<sup>5</sup> passing my evening at the Queen-Mother's Court ; at night, saw acted *The Committee*, a ridiculous play of Sir R. Howard, where the mimic, Lacy, acted the Irish footman<sup>6</sup> to admiration.

<sup>1</sup> [Sir Hugh Pollard, d. 1666 (see *post*, under 27th November, 1666), Comptroller of the King's Household.]

<sup>2</sup> A Tragi-Comedy by James Shirley.

<sup>3</sup> [See *ante*, p. 195.]

<sup>4</sup> Mr. Slingsby (see *ante*, p. 194).

<sup>5</sup> Of Betchworth, in Surrey. Query,—Sir Ralph Freeman, the dramatist.

<sup>6</sup> [Teague (see *ante*, p. 195 n.).]

80th November. St. Andrew's day. Invited by the Dean of Westminster<sup>1</sup> to his consecration-dinner and ceremony, on his being made Bishop of Worcester. Dr. Bolton preached in the Abbey Church; then followed the consecration by the Bishops of London, Chichester, Winchester, Salisbury, etc. After this, was one of the most plentiful and magnificent dinners that in my life I ever saw; it cost near £600 as I was informed. Here were the Judges, nobility, clergy, and gentlemen innumerable, this Bishop being universally beloved for his sweet and gentle disposition. He was author of those *Characters* which go under the name of Blount.<sup>2</sup> He translated his late Majesty's *Icon* into Latin,<sup>3</sup> was Clerk of his Closet, Chaplain, Dean of Westminster, and yet a most humble, meek, and cheerful man, an excellent scholar, and rare preacher. I had the honour to be loved by him. He married me at Paris, during his Majesty's and the Church's exile.<sup>4</sup> When I took leave of him, he brought me to the cloisters in his episcopal habit. I then went to prayers at Whitehall, where I passed that evening.

1st December. Having seen the strange and wonderful dexterity of the sliders on the new canal in St. James's Park, performed before their Majesties by divers gentlemen and others with skates, after the manner of the Hollanders,<sup>5</sup> with what swiftness they pass, how suddenly they stop in full career upon the ice; I went home by water, but not without exceeding difficulty, the Thames

<sup>1</sup> Dr. John Earle (see *ante*, p. 2).

<sup>2</sup> [*Micro-cosmographie, or, A Peece of the World Discovered; In Essayes and Characters.* London, Printed by William Stansby for Edward Blount, 1628.]

<sup>3</sup> [Published in 1649.]

<sup>4</sup> [See *ante*, p. 2.]

<sup>5</sup> [Blade skates were now first introduced from Holland, where the Cavaliers in exile with Charles II. had learned to use them. Pepys mentions them under 1st and 8th December, 1662.]



being frozen, great flakes of ice encompassing our boat.

17th December. I saw acted before the King, *The Law against Lovers*.<sup>1</sup>

21st. One of his Majesty's chaplains preached; after which, instead of the ancient, grave, and solemn wind-music accompanying the organ, was introduced a concert of twenty-four violins between every pause, after the French fantastical light way, better suiting a tavern, or playhouse, than a church. This was the first time of change, and now we no more heard the cornet which gave life to the organ; that instrument quite left off in which the English were so skilful. I dined at Mr. Povey's,<sup>2</sup> where I talked with Cromer, a great musician.

23rd. I went with Sir George Tuke,<sup>3</sup> to hear the comedians con and repeat his new comedy, *The Adventures of Five Hours*, a play whose plot was taken out of the famous Spanish poet, Calderon.

27th. I visited Sir Theophilus Biddulph.<sup>4</sup>

29th. Saw the audience of the Muscovy Ambassador, which was with extraordinary state, his retinue being numerous, all clad in vests of several colours, with buskins, after the Eastern manner! their caps of fur; tunics, richly embroidered with gold and pearls, made a glorious show. The King being seated under a canopy in the Banqueting-house, the Secretary of the Embassy went before the Ambassador in a grave march, holding up his master's letters of credence in a

<sup>1</sup> By Sir William Davenant, a hotch-pot out of *Measure for Measure* and *Much Ado about Nothing*. Pepys had seen it in February, 1662.

<sup>2</sup> [Thomas Povey, 1633-85, a Master of Requests from 1662 to accession of James II.—"a nice contriver of all elegancies and exceedingly formal" (see *post*, under 6th August, 1666).]

<sup>3</sup> [Sir Samuel Tuke (see *ante*, pp. 17, 147, and 152. George Tuke was his elder brother).]

<sup>4</sup> [Of Westcombe, Kent. He became a baronet in 1664, when he was M.P. for Lichfield.]

crimson taffeta scarf before his forehead. The Ambassador then delivered it with a profound reverence to the King, who gave it to our Secretary of State: it was written in a long and lofty style. Then came in the presents, borne by 165 of his retinue, consisting of mantles and other large pieces lined with sable, black fox, and ermine; Persian carpets, the ground cloth of gold and velvet; hawks, such as they said never came the like; horses said to be Persian; bows and arrows, etc. These borne by so long a train rendered it very extraordinary. Wind-music played all the while in the galleries above. This finished, the Ambassador was conveyed by the master of the ceremonies to York-House, where he was treated with a banquet which cost £200 as I was assured.<sup>1</sup>

1662-8: 7th January. At night, I saw the ball in which his Majesty danced with several great ladies.

8th. I went to see my kinsman, Sir George Tuke's<sup>2</sup> comedy acted at the Duke's theatre, which took so universally, that it was acted for

<sup>1</sup> "The Czar of Muscovy sent an Ambassador to compliment King Charles II. on his Restoration. The King sent the Earl of Carlisle [see *ante*, p. 170], as his Ambassador to Moscow, to desire the re-establishment of the ancient privileges of the English merchants at Archangel, which had been taken away by the Czar, who, abhorring the murder of the King's father, accused them as favourers of it. But, by the means of the Czar's ministers, his Lordship was very ill received, and met with what he deemed affronts, and had no success as to his demands, so that at coming away he refused the presents sent him by the Czar. The Czar sent an Ambassador to England to complain of Lord Carlisle's conduct; but his Lordship vindicated himself so well, that the King told the Ambassador he saw no reason to condemn his Lordship's conduct" (Relation of the Embassy by G. M., authenticated by Lord Carlisle, printed 1669).

<sup>2</sup> [Sir Samuel Tuke (see *ante*, p. 199). Pepys was also present on this occasion. He too praises the plot, and the absence of ribaldry. Both Betterton and his wife took part in the performance, and the piece ran for thirteen nights without a break.]

some weeks every day, and it was believed it would be worth to the comedians £400 or £500. The plot was incomparable; but the language stiff and formal.

10th *January*. I saw a ball again at Court, danced by the King, the Duke, and ladies, in great pomp.

21st. Dined at Mr. Treasurer's of the Household, Sir Charles Berkeley's, where were the Earl of Oxford,<sup>1</sup> Lord Belasyse,<sup>2</sup> Lord Gerard,<sup>3</sup> Sir Andrew Scrope, Sir William Coventry,<sup>4</sup> Dr. Fraizer,<sup>5</sup> Mr. Windham, and others.

5th *February*. I saw *The Wild Gallant*, a comedy;<sup>6</sup> and was at the great ball at Court, where his Majesty, the Queen, etc., danced.

6th. Dined at my Lord Mayor's, Sir John Robinson,<sup>7</sup> Lieutenant of the Tower.

15th. This night some villains brake into my house and study below, and robbed me to the value of £60 in plate, money, and goods;—this being the third time I have been thus plundered.

26th *March*. I sat at the Commission of Sewers, where was a great case pleaded by his Majesty's counsel; he having built a wall over a water-course,

<sup>1</sup> Aubrey de Vere, twentieth and last Earl, 1626-1703. He had served as a military officer, both at home and abroad; and his services were rewarded at the Restoration by a seat at the Privy Council, the dignity of Knight of the Garter, and the appointment of Lord-Lieutenant of Essex. He left an only daughter, married to the Duke of St. Albans.

<sup>2</sup> [John Belasyse, Baron Belasyse, 1614-89, afterwards Governor of Tangier.]

<sup>3</sup> [See *ante*, p. 38.]

<sup>4</sup> [See *ante*, p. 18.]

<sup>5</sup> [Dr. Alexander Fraizer, 1610?-81, physician to Charles II. He was knighted soon after the Restoration. Pepys refers to him more than once.]

<sup>6</sup> By Dryden. It was unsuccessful on the first representation in this year, but was subsequently altered to the form in which it now appears.

<sup>7</sup> [See *ante*, p. 111.]

denied the jurisdiction of the Court. The verdict went for the plaintiff.<sup>1</sup>

*30th April.* Came his Majesty to honour my poor villa with his presence, viewing the gardens and even every room of the house, and was pleased to take a small refreshment. There were with him the Duke of Richmond,<sup>2</sup> Earl of St. Albans,<sup>3</sup> Lord Lauderdale,<sup>4</sup> and several persons of quality.

*14th May.* Dined with my Lord Mordaunt,<sup>5</sup> and thence went to Barnes, to visit my excellent and ingenious friend, Abraham Cowley.<sup>6</sup>

*17th.* I saluted the old Bishop of Durham, Dr Cosin,<sup>7</sup> to whom I had been kind, and assisted in his exile; but which he little remembered in his greatness.

*29th.* Dr. Creighton preached his extravagant sermon at St. Margaret's, before the House of Commons.<sup>8</sup>

*30th.* This morning was passed my lease of Sayes Court from the Crown, for the finishing of which I had been obliged to make such frequent journeys to London. I returned this evening, having seen the Russian Ambassador take leave of their Majesties with great solemnity.

*2nd July.* I saw the great Masque at Court, and lay that night at Arundel-house.<sup>9</sup>

*4th.* I saw his Majesty's Guards, being of horse and foot 4000, led by the General, the Duke of Albemarle, in extraordinary equipage and gallantry,

<sup>1</sup> That is, against the King.

<sup>2</sup> [Charles Stuart, third Duke of Richmond, 1640-72, afterwards imprisoned in the Tower.]

<sup>3</sup> [See *ante*, p. 149.]

<sup>4</sup> [John Maitland, first Duke of Lauderdale, 1616-82.]

<sup>5</sup> [See *ante*, p. 119.]

<sup>6</sup> [Abraham Cowley, 1618-67. He retired to Barn Elms in 1663 for solitude, but left it in 1665 for Porch-house, Chertsey (see *post*, p. 207). He had lived at Deptford.]

<sup>7</sup> [See *ante*, p. 25.]

<sup>8</sup> [See *ante*, p. 17.]

<sup>9</sup> [See *ante*, p. 182.]

consisting of gentlemen of quality and veteran soldiers, excellently clad, mounted, and ordered, drawn up in battalia before their Majesties in Hyde Park, where the old Earl of Cleveland trailed a pike,<sup>1</sup> and led the right-hand file in a foot company, commanded by the Lord Wentworth, his son;<sup>2</sup> a worthy spectacle and example, being both of them old and valiant soldiers. This was to show the French Ambassador, Monsieur Cominges;<sup>3</sup> there being a great assembly of coaches, etc., in the park.

*7th July.* Dined at the Comptroller's;<sup>4</sup> after dinner, we met at the Commission about the streets, and to regulate hackney-coaches, also to make up our accounts to pass the Exchequer.

*16th.* A most extraordinary wet and cold season.

Sir George Carteret, Treasurer of the Navy,<sup>5</sup> had now married his daughter, Caroline, to Sir Thomas Scott, of Scott's Hall, in Kent.<sup>6</sup> This gentleman was thought to be the son of Prince Rupert.

*2nd August.* This evening, I accompanied Mr. Treasurer and Vice-Chamberlain Carteret to his lately married son-in-law's, Sir Thomas Scott, to Scott's-hall.<sup>7</sup> We took barge as far as Gravesend, and thence by post to Rochester, whence in coach and six horses to Scott's Hall; a right noble seat, uniformly built, with a handsome gallery. It stands in a park well stored, the land fat and good.

<sup>1</sup> [Thomas Wentworth, first Earl of Cleveland, 1591-1667.]

<sup>2</sup> [Thomas Wentworth, fifth Baron Wentworth, 1613-65.]

<sup>3</sup> [Gaston-Jean-Baptiste de Cominges, Seigneur of St. Fort, Fléac, and La Réole, 1613-70; Ambassador to England, 1662-65. He had come to this country 23rd December, 1662 (see *post*, under 29th October, 1664, and 20th June, 1665).]

<sup>4</sup> [Sir Hugh Pollard (see *ante*, p. 197).]

<sup>5</sup> [See *ante*, p. 15.]

<sup>6</sup> [Whose ancestor led the Kentish forces at the Armada.]

<sup>7</sup> [Scott's Hall, near Smeeth, has now disappeared, and the site belongs to Lord Brabourne.]

We were exceedingly feasted by the young knight, and in his pretty chapel heard an excellent sermon by his chaplain. In the afternoon, preached the learned Sir Norton Knatchbull (who has a noble seat hard by, and a plantation of stately fir trees).<sup>1</sup> In the church-yard of the parish church I measured an over-grown yew tree, that was eighteen of my paces in compass, out of some branches of which, torn off by the winds, were sawed divers goodly planks.<sup>2</sup>

10th August. We returned by Sir Norton's, whose house is likewise in a park. This gentleman is a worthy person, and learned critic, especially in Greek and Hebrew. Passing by Chatham, we saw his Majesty's Royal Navy, and dined at Commissioner Pett's,<sup>3</sup> master-builder there, who showed me his study and models, with other curiosities belonging to his art. He is esteemed for the most skilful ship-builder in the world. He hath a pretty garden and banqueting-house, pots, statues, cypresses, resembling some villas about Rome. After a great feast we rode post to Gravesend, and, sending the coach to London, came by barge home that night.

18th. To London, to see my Lord Chancellor, where I had discourse with my Lord Archbishop of Canterbury<sup>4</sup> and the Bishop of Winchester,<sup>5</sup> who enjoined me to write to Dr. Pierce, President

<sup>1</sup> [Sir Norton Knatchbull, 1602-85, of Mersham Hatch. He wrote *Animadversiones in Libros Novi Testamenti*, 1659.]

<sup>2</sup> [It has long disappeared from Brabourne churchyard. It was fifty-nine feet in circumference, and De Candolle thought it 3000 years old. Evelyn mentions it in his *Sylva* (Hunter's ed. 1812, ii. 205).]

<sup>3</sup> [Peter Pett, 1610-70, son of Phineas Pett, 1570-1647 (see *ante*, vol. i. p. 26). He was resident Commissioner of the Navy at Chatham from 1648 to 1667, succeeding his father. See *post*, under 18th June, 1667.]

<sup>4</sup> [See *ante*, p. 165.]

<sup>5</sup> [See *ante*, p. 19.]

of Magdalen College, Oxford, about a letter sent him by Dr. Goffe, a Romish Oratorian,<sup>1</sup> concerning an answer to Dean Cressy's late book.<sup>2</sup>

20th August. I dined at the Comptroller's [of the Household] with the Earl of Oxford<sup>3</sup> and Mr. Ashburnham;<sup>4</sup> it was said it should be the last of the public diets, or tables, at Court, it being determined to put down the old hospitality, at which was great murmuring, considering his Majesty's vast revenue and the plenty of the nation. Hence, I went to sit in a Committee, to consider about the regulation of the Mint at the Tower; in which some small progress was made.

27th. Dined at Sir Philip Warwick's,<sup>5</sup> Secretary to my Lord Treasurer, who showed me the accounts and other private matters relating to the revenue. Thence, to the Commissioners of the Mint, particularly about coinage, and bringing his Majesty's rate from fifteen to ten shillings for every pound weight of gold.

31st. I was invited to the translation of Dr. Sheldon, Bishop of London,<sup>6</sup> from that see to Canterbury, the ceremony performed at Lambeth. First went his Grace's mace-bearer, steward, treasurer, comptroller, all in their gowns, and with white staves; next, the Bishops in their habits, eight in number; Dr. Sweate, Dean of the Arches, Dr. Exton, Judge of the Admiralty, Sir William

<sup>1</sup> [See *ante*, vol. i. p. 30.]

<sup>2</sup> [Of Dr. Pierce (see *ante*, p. 116) Wood speaks very unfavourably in his *Fasti*. He was engaged in many disputes both in his College and at Salisbury. Dean Cressy was bred in the Church of England, and appointed Canon of Windsor and Dean of Leighlin in Ireland, in the time of King Charles I., but the troubles of that time interposed to prevent his receiving benefit from either; he afterwards became a Roman Catholic. The book here referred to is *Exomologetis* or the motives of his conversion.]

<sup>3</sup> [See *ante*, p. 21.]

<sup>5</sup> [See *ante*, p. 150.]

<sup>4</sup> [See *post*, under 28th August, 1667.]

<sup>6</sup> [See *ante*, p. 204.]

Merick, Judge of the Prerogative Court, with divers advocates in scarlet. After divine service in the chapel, performed with music extraordinary, Dr. French and Dr. Stradling (his Grace's chaplains) said prayers. The Archbishop in a private room looking into the chapel, the Bishops who were Commissioners went up to a table placed before the altar, and sat round it in chairs. Then, Dr. Chaworth presented the commission under the broad seal to the Bishop of Winchester, and it was read by Dr. Sweate. After which, the Vicar-General went to the vestry, and brought his Grace into the chapel, his other officers marching before. He being presented to the Commissioners, was seated in a great arm-chair at one end of the table, when the definitive sentence was read by the Bishop of Winchester, and subscribed by all the Bishops, and proclamation was three times made at the chapel door, which was then set open for any to enter, and give their exceptions; if any they had. This done, we all went to dinner in the great hall to a mighty feast. There were present all the nobility in town, the Lord Mayor of London, Sheriffs, Duke of Albemarle, etc. My Lord Archbishop did in particular most civilly welcome me. So going to visit my Lady Needham, who lived at Lambeth,<sup>1</sup> I went over to London.

*10th September.* I dined with Mr. Treasurer of the Navy,<sup>2</sup> where, sitting by Mr. Secretary Morice, we had much discourse about books and authors, he being a learned man, and had a good collection.

*24th October.* Mr. Edward Phillips<sup>3</sup> came to be

<sup>1</sup> [See *ante*, p. 124.]

<sup>2</sup> [Sir George Carteret.]

<sup>3</sup> [Edward Phillips, of Magdalen Hall, Oxford, 1630-96, son of Milton's only sister, Ann. He was afterwards tutor to Philip Herbert, later seventh Earl of Pembroke. From a letter of Evelyn to Wren in 1665, it appears that the salary of such a preceptor was £20 p. a. "and such other accommodations as shall be in no ways disagreeable to an ingenuous spirit." For this



my son's preceptor : this gentleman was nephew to Milton, who wrote against Salmasius's *Defensio* ; but was not at all infected with his principles, though brought up by him.<sup>1</sup>

*5th November.* Dr. South,<sup>2</sup> my Lord Chancellor's chaplain, preached at Westminster Abbey an excellent discourse concerning obedience to magistrates, against the pontificians and sectaries. I afterwards dined at Sir Philip Warwick's,<sup>3</sup> where was much company.

*6th.* To Court, to get Sir John Evelyn of Godstone off from being Sheriff of Surrey.<sup>4</sup>

*30th.* Was the first anniversary of our Society for the choice of new officers, according to the tenor of our patent and institution. It being St. Andrew's day, who was our patron, each fellow wore a St. Andrew's cross of ribbon on the crown of his hat. After the election, we dined together, his Majesty sending us venison.

*16th December.* To our Society, where Mr. P. Balle,<sup>5</sup> our Treasurer at the late election, presented the Society with an iron chest, having three locks, and in it £100 as a gift.

*18th.* Dined with the gentlemen of his Majesty's bedchamber at Whitehall.

*1668-4: 2nd January.* To Barn Elms, to see Abraham Cowley after his sickness ;<sup>6</sup> and returned that evening to London.

he was to be "a perfect Grecian," and have some knowledge of mathematics.]

<sup>1</sup> The lives of Edward and John Phillips, nephews and pupils of the poet, were published in 1815, by William Godwin.

<sup>2</sup> [The famous Dr. Robert South, 1634-1716, also at this date Public Orator at Oxford.]

<sup>3</sup> [See *ante*, p. 150.]

<sup>4</sup> In which he succeeded.

<sup>5</sup> [Peter Balle, d. 1675, Doctor of Physic and Philosophy, Padua, 1660.]

<sup>6</sup> [See *ante*, p. 202. He had been "afflicted with a dangerous and lingering Fever."]

4th February. Dined at Sir Philip Warwick's;<sup>1</sup> thence, to Court, where I had discourse with the King about an invention of glass-grenades,<sup>2</sup> and several other subjects.

5th. I saw *The Indian Queen* acted, a tragedy well written,<sup>3</sup> so beautiful with rich scenes as the like had never been seen here, or haply (except rarely) elsewhere on a mercenary theatre.

16th. I presented my *Sylva* to the Society;<sup>4</sup> and next day to his Majesty, to whom it was dedicated; also to the Lord Treasurer and the Lord Chancellor.

24th. My Lord George Berkeley, of Durdans,<sup>5</sup> and Sir Samuel Tuke,<sup>6</sup> came to visit me. We went on board Sir William Petty's double-bottomed vessel,<sup>7</sup> and so to London.

26th. Dined with my Lord Chancellor; and thence to Court, where I had great thanks for my *Sylva*, and long discourse with the King of divers particulars.

2nd March. Went to London to distribute some of my books amongst friends.

4th. Came to dine with me the Earl of Lauderdale, his Majesty's great favourite, and Secretary of Scotland; the Earl of Teviot; my Lord Viscount Brouncker, President of the Royal Society; Dr. Wilkins, Dean of Ripon; Sir Robert Murray,<sup>8</sup> and Mr. Hooke, Curator to the Society.<sup>9</sup>

This spring, I planted the Home-field and West-

<sup>1</sup> [See *ante*, p. 150.]

<sup>2</sup> [Grenades of iron were invented in 1594 (see *post*, under 1st June, 1667).]

<sup>3</sup> By Sir Robert Howard and Dryden.

<sup>4</sup> [See *ante*, p. 195. It was published in this year.]

<sup>5</sup> [See *ante*, p. 134.]

<sup>6</sup> [See *ante*, p. 200.]

<sup>7</sup> [See *ante*, p. 178.]

<sup>8</sup> [See *ante*, pp. 159 and 168.]

<sup>9</sup> Dr. Robert Hooke, 1635-1703, professor of Geometry in Gresham College. He wrote several treatises on different branches of philosophy, and entered into controversies with Hevelius, and on Newton's Theory of Light and Colours.



# SYLVA,

Or A DISCOURSE OF  
FOREST-TREES,  
AND THE  
Propagation of Timber

In His MAJESTIES Dominions.

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By J. E. Esq;

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As it was Deliver'd in the *ROYAL SOCIETY* the xv<sup>th</sup> of  
*October*, CIOICLXII. upon Occasion of certain *Queries*  
Propounded to that *Illustrious Assembly*, by the *Honorable* the Principal  
*Officers*, and *Commissioners* of the *Navy*.

---

To which is annexed  
*POMONA*; Or, An *Appendix* concerning *Fruit-Trees* in relation to *CIDER*;  
The *Making* and *several ways of Ordering* it.

*Published* by express Order of the *ROYAL SOCIETY*.

ALSO  
*KALENDARIVM HORTENSE*; Or, *Gardners Almanac*;  
Directing *what* he is to do *Monthly* throughout the *Year*.

---

— *Tibi res antiqua lendis & aris*  
*Ingredior, tantus ausus recludere foveis.* Virg.

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LONDON, Printed by *J. Martyn*, and *J. Allestry*, Printers to the *Royal Society*, and are to be sold at their Shop as the *Bell* in *S. Paul's Church-yard*.  
MDCLXIV.

FACSIMILE OF THE TITLE-PAGE OF "SYLVA," 1664

field about Sayes Court with elms, being the same year that the elms were planted by his Majesty in Greenwich Park.

*9th March.* I went to the Tower, to sit in commission about regulating the Mint; and now it was that the fine new-milled coin, both of white money and guineas, was established.

*26th.* It pleased God to take away my son, Richard, now a month old, yet without any sickness of danger perceivably, being to all appearance a most likely child; we suspected much the nurse had over-lain him; to our extreme sorrow, being now again reduced to one: but God's will be done.

*29th.* After evening prayers, was my child buried near the rest of his brothers—my very dear children.

*27th April.* Saw a facetious comedy, called *Love in a Tub*;<sup>1</sup> and supped at Mr. Secretary Bennet's.<sup>2</sup>

*3rd May.* Came the Earl of Kent,<sup>3</sup> my kinsman, and his lady, to visit us.

*5th.* Went with some company a journey of pleasure on the water, in a barge, with music, and at Mortlake had a great banquet, returning late. The occasion was, Sir Robert Carr,<sup>4</sup> now courting Mrs. Bennet, sister to the Secretary of State.

*6th.* Went to see Mr. Wright the painter's collection of rare shells, etc.<sup>5</sup>

*8th June.* To our Society, to which his Majesty had sent that wonderful horn of the fish which struck a dangerous hole in the keel of a ship in the India sea, which, being broken off with the violence

<sup>1</sup> [By Sir George Etherege, 1635-91. Its first title was *The Comical Revenge*. It was "very merry, but only so by gesture, not wit at all"—says Pepys, who saw it in January, 1665.]

<sup>2</sup> [See *ante*, p. 174.]

<sup>3</sup> [Anthony Grey, eleventh Earl of Kent, *d.* 1702.]

<sup>4</sup> [Sir Robert Carr, of Sleaford, Lincolnshire.]

<sup>5</sup> [See *ante*, p. 137.]

of the fish, and left in the timber, preserved it from foundering.<sup>1</sup>

9th June. Sir Samuel Tuke<sup>2</sup> being this morning married to a lady, kinswoman to my Lord Arundel of Wardour, by the Queen's Lord Almoner, L. Aubigny,<sup>3</sup> in St. James's chapel, solemnised his wedding-night at my house with much company.

22nd. One Tomson, a Jesuit, showed me such a collection of rarities, sent from the Jesuits of Japan and China to their Order at Paris, as a present to be reserved in their repository, but brought to London by the East India ships for them, as in my life I had not seen. The chief things were, rhinoceroses' horns; glorious vests, wrought and embroidered on cloth of gold, but with such lively colours, that for splendour and vividness we have nothing in Europe that approaches it; a girdle studded with agates and rubies of great value and size; knives, of so keen an edge as one could not touch them, nor was the metal of our colour, but more pale and livid; fans, like those our ladies use, but much larger, and with long handles curiously carved and filled with Chinese characters; a sort of paper very broad, thin, and fine, like abortive parchment, and exquisitely polished, of an amber yellow, exceeding glorious and pretty to look on, and seeming to be like that which my Lord Verulam describes in his *Nova Atlantis*; several other sorts of paper, some written, others printed; prints of landscapes, their idols, saints, pagods, of most ugly serpentine monstrous and hideous shapes, to which they paid devotion; pictures of men and countries, rarely painted on a sort of gummed calico, transparent as glass; flowers, trees, beasts, birds, etc., excellently

<sup>1</sup> [Grew's *Catalogue and Description of the Natural and Artificial Rarities belonging to the Royal Society, and preserved at Gresham Colledge, etc.*, 1681, contains no reference to this.]

<sup>2</sup> [See *ante*, pp. 17 and 147.]

<sup>3</sup> [See *ante*, p. 46.]

wrought in a kind of sleeve silk, very natural; divers drugs that our druggists and physicians could make nothing of, especially one which the Jesuit called *Lac Tigridis*: it looked like a fungus, but was weighty like metal, yet was a concretion, or coagulation, of some other matter; several book MSS.; a grammar of the language written in Spanish; with innumerable other rarities.

*1st July.* Went to see Mr. Povey's<sup>1</sup> elegant house in Lincoln's-Inn-Fields, where the perspective in his court, painted by Streater,<sup>2</sup> is indeed excellent, with the vases in imitation of porphyry, and fountains; the inlaying of his closet; above all, his pretty cellar and ranging of his wine-bottles.

*7th.* To Court, where I subscribed to Sir Arthur Slingsby's<sup>3</sup> lottery, a desperate debt owing me long since in Paris.

*14th.* I went to take leave of the two Mr. Howards,<sup>4</sup> now going to Paris, and brought them as far as Bromley; thence, to Eltham, to see Sir John Shaw's new house,<sup>5</sup> now building; the place is pleasant, if not too wet, but the house not well contrived; especially the roof and rooms too low pitched, and the kitchen where the cellars should be; the orangery and aviary handsome, and a very large plantation about it.

*19th.* To London, to see the event of the lottery which his Majesty had permitted Sir Arthur Slingsby to set up for one day in the Banqueting-house, at Whitehall; I gaining only

<sup>1</sup> See *ante*, p. 199; and *post*, under 6th August, 1666.

<sup>2</sup> [Robert Streater, 1624-80, called by Pepys "an excellent painter of perspective and landscape." He was Serjeant Painter to Charles II.]

<sup>3</sup> [See *ante*, p. 15.]

<sup>4</sup> [See *ante*, p. 190.]

<sup>5</sup> Eltham Palace (see *ante*, p. 110) had been bestowed upon Sir John Shaw by Charles II. for services rendered at Brussels and Antwerp.]

a trifle, as well as did the King, Queen-Consort, and Queen-Mother, for near thirty lots; which was thought to be contrived very unhandsomely by the master of it, who was, in truth, a mere shark.

21st July. I dined with my Lord Treasurer<sup>1</sup> at Southampton House, where his Lordship used me with singular humanity. I went in the afternoon to Chelsea, to wait on the Duke of Ormonde, and returned to London.

28th. Came to see me Monsieur Zulichem, Secretary to the Prince of Orange,<sup>2</sup> an excellent Latin poet, a rare lutanist, with Monsieur Oudart.<sup>3</sup>

3rd August. To London; a concert of excellent musicians, especially one Mr. Berkenshaw,<sup>4</sup> that rare artist, who invented a mathematical way of composure very extraordinary, true as to the exact rules of art, but without much harmony.

8th. Came the sad and unexpected news of the death of Lady Cotton,<sup>5</sup> wife to my brother George, a most excellent lady.

9th. Went with my brother Richard to Wotton, to visit and comfort my disconsolate brother; and on the 18th saw my friend, Mr. Charles Howard, at Deepdene, near Dorking.<sup>6</sup>

16th. I went to see Sir William Ducie's house at Charlton,<sup>7</sup> which he purchased of my excellent friend, Sir Henry Newton,<sup>8</sup> now nobly furnished.

22nd. I went from London to Wotton, to

<sup>1</sup> [See *ante*, p. 112.]

<sup>2</sup> [Constantine Huyghens, Seigneur de Zulichem, 1596-1687, father of Christian Huyghens (see *ante*, p. 161). He was in England in 1671 (see *post*, under 24th June, 1671).]

<sup>3</sup> [Secretary to the late Princess of Orange.]

<sup>4</sup> Berkenshaw was music master to Pepys, who informs us in February, 1662, that he gave him five pounds for five weeks' lessons, "which is a great deal of money, and troubled me to part with it."

<sup>5</sup> [See *ante*, vol. i. p. 5.]

<sup>7</sup> [See *ante*, p. 4.]

<sup>6</sup> [See *ante*, p. 102.]

<sup>8</sup> [See *ante*, p. 67.]



assist at the funeral of my sister-in-law, the Lady Cotton, buried in our dormitory there, she being put up in lead. Dr. Owen made a profitable and pathetic discourse, concluding with an eulogy of that virtuous, pious, and deserving lady. It was a very solemn funeral, with about fifty mourners. I came back next day with my wife to London.

*2nd September.* Came Constantine Huyghens, Seigneur de Zulichem, Sir Robert Morris, Mr. Oudart, Mr. Carew,<sup>1</sup> and other friends, to spend the day with us.

*5th October.* To our Society. There was brought a new-invented instrument of music, being a harpsichord with gut-strings, sounding like a concert of viols with an organ, made vocal by a wheel, and a zone of parchment that rubbed horizontally against the strings.

*6th.* I heard the anniversary oration in praise of Dr. Harvey, in the Anatomy Theatre in the College of Physicians; after which I was invited by Dr. Alston, the President,<sup>2</sup> to a magnificent feast.

*7th.* I dined at Sir Nicholas Strood's, one of the Masters of Chancery, in Great St. Bartholomew's; passing the evening at Whitehall, with the Queen, etc.

*8th.* Sir William Curtius,<sup>3</sup> his Majesty's Resident in Germany, came to visit me; he was a wise and learned gentleman, and, as he told me, scholar to Henry Alstedius,<sup>4</sup> the Encyclopedist.

*15th.* Dined at the Lord Chancellor's, where were the Duke of Ormonde, Earl of Cork, and Bishop of Winchester. After dinner, my Lord

<sup>1</sup> [See *ante*, p. 12.]

<sup>2</sup> [Sir Edward Alston, 1595-1669; P.C.P. 1635-66.]

<sup>3</sup> [See *ante*, p. 37.]

<sup>4</sup> [John Henry Alsted, 1588-1638, German Philosopher and Divine.]

Chancellor and his lady carried me in their coach to see their palace (for he now lived at Worcester-House in the Strand), building at the upper end of St. James's-street,<sup>1</sup> and to project the garden. In the evening, I presented him with my book on Architecture,<sup>2</sup> as before I had done to his Majesty and the Queen-Mother. His lordship caused me to stay with him in his bedchamber, discoursing of several matters very late, even till he was going into his bed.

17th October. I went with my Lord Viscount Cornbury,<sup>3</sup> to Cornbury, in Oxfordshire, to assist him in the planting of the park, and bear him company, with Mr. Belin and Mr. May,<sup>4</sup> in a coach with six horses; dined at Uxbridge, lay at Wycombe.

18th. At Oxford. Went through Woodstock, where we beheld the destruction of that royal seat and park by the late rebels, and arrived that evening at Cornbury, a house lately built by the Earl of Denbigh, in the middle of a sweet park, walled with a dry wall.<sup>5</sup> The house is of excellent free-stone, abounding in that part (a stone that is fine,

<sup>1</sup> Clarendon House, Piccadilly. It stood on the N. side, between Berkeley Street and Bond Street, and exactly fronting St. James's Palace. The Chancellor, in the Continuation of his Life, laments his "weakness and vanity" in having built it, and the "gust of envy" which its magnificence created. He had little enjoyment of it, as will be seen hereafter (see *post*, under 19th June and 18th September, 1683, and 12th June, 1684).

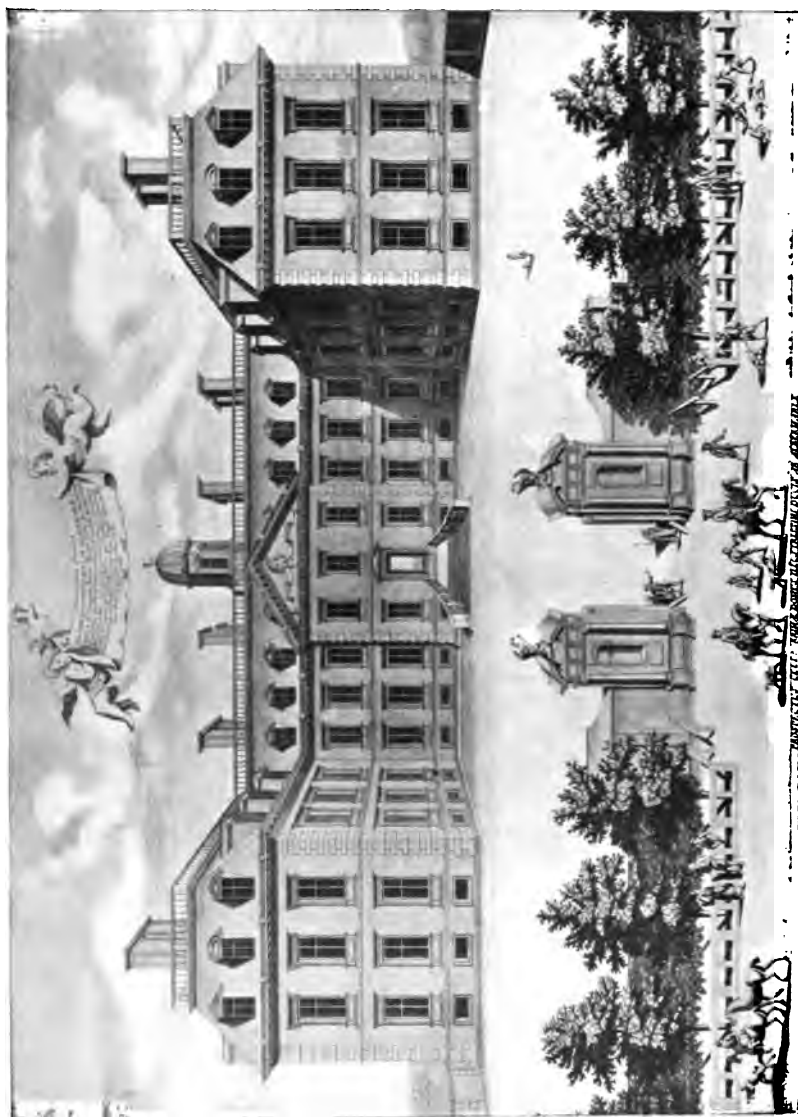
<sup>2</sup> *A Parallel of the Ancient Architecture with the Modern*, etc. Written in French, by Roland Freart, Sieur de Chambray, and translated by Evelyn. See his *Miscellaneous Writings*, 1825, pp. 337-48.

<sup>3</sup> [Henry Hyde, Lord Cornbury, 1638-1709, afterwards second Earl of Clarendon.]

<sup>4</sup> [Probably Hugh May, the architect of Cashiobury, and surveyor of the works at Windsor Castle.]

<sup>5</sup> Once the residence of Francis Almeric, created Baron Churchill, brother of the fifth Duke of Marlborough.





CLARENDON HOUSE, PICCADILLY

but never sweats, or casts any damp); it is of ample dimensions, has goodly cellars, the paving of the hall admirable for its close laying. We designed a handsome chapel that was yet wanting: as Mr. May had the stables, which indeed are very fair, having set out the walks in the park and gardens. The lodge is a pretty solitude, and the ponds very convenient; the park well stored.

*20th October.* Hence, to see the famous wells, natural and artificial grotts and fountains, called Bushell's Wells, at Enstone.<sup>1</sup> This Bushell had been Secretary to my Lord Verulam. It is an extraordinary solitude. There he had two mummies; a grot where he lay in a hammock, like an Indian. Hence, we went to Ditchley, an ancient seat of the Lees, now Sir Henry Lee's; it is a low ancient timber house, with a pretty bowling-green. My Lady gave us an extraordinary dinner. This gentleman's mother was Countess of Rochester, who was also there, and Sir Walter St. John. There were some pictures of their ancestors, not ill painted; the great-grandfather had been Knight of the Garter: there was a picture of a Pope, and our Saviour's head. So we returned to Cornbury.

*24th.* We dined at Sir Timothy Tyrell's at Shotover. This gentleman married the daughter and heir of Dr. James Ussher, Archbishop of Armagh, that learned prelate.<sup>2</sup> There is here in the grove a fountain of the coldest water I ever felt, and very clear. His plantation of oaks and other timber is very commendable. We went in the evening to Oxford, lay at Dr. Hyde's, principal of Magdalen-Hall (related to the Lord Chancellor),

<sup>1</sup> Thomas Bushell, 1594-1674. He had been page and seal-bearer to Bacon. He printed a pamphlet descriptive of his contrivances at Enstone; and in Plot's *Oxfordshire* is an engraving of the rock, fountains, etc., belonging to it. See an account of him in Manning and Bray's *History of Surrey*, 1814, vol. iii. p. 528, and Appendix cxlix.

<sup>2</sup> [See *ante*, p. 54.]

brother to the Lord Chief-Justice and that Sir Henry Hyde, who lost his head for his loyalty. We were handsomely entertained two days. The Vice-Chancellor, with Dr. Fell,<sup>1</sup> Dean of Christ Church, the learned Dr. Barlow,<sup>2</sup> Warden of Queen's, and several Heads of houses, came to visit Lord Cornbury (his father being now Chancellor of the University), and next day invited us all to dinner. I went to visit Mr. Boyle (now here), whom I found with Dr. Wallis,<sup>3</sup> and Dr. Christopher Wren,<sup>4</sup> in the tower of the schools, with an inverted tube, or telescope, observing the discus of the sun for the passing of Mercury that day before it; but the latitude was so great that nothing appeared; so we went to see the rarities in the Library, where the keepers showed me my name among the benefactors. They have a cabinet of some medals, and pictures of the muscular parts of man's body. Thence, to the new Theatre, now building at an exceeding and royal expense by the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury [Sheldon], to keep the Acts in for the future, till now being in St. Mary's Church. The foundation had been newly laid, and the whole designed by that incomparable genius, my worthy friend Dr. Christopher Wren, who showed me the model, not disdaining my advice in some particulars. Thence, to see the picture on the wall over the altar of All Souls, being the largest piece of fresco-painting (or rather in imitation of it, for it is in oil of turpentine) in England, not ill designed by the hand of one Fuller;<sup>5</sup> yet I fear it will not hold long. It seems too full of naked for a chapel.

Thence, to New College, and the painting of

<sup>1</sup> [See *ante*, p. 169.]

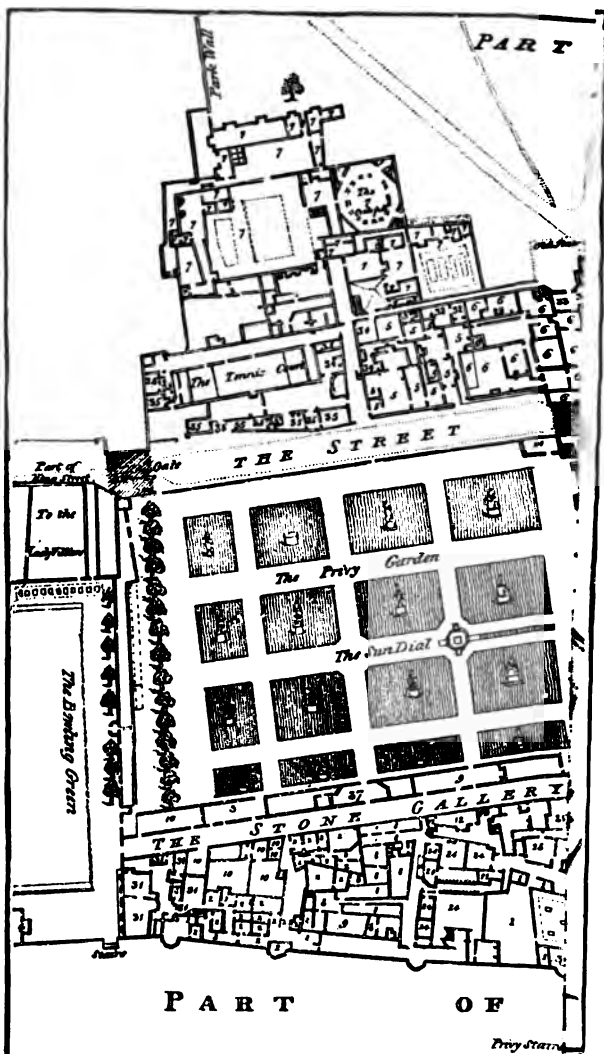
<sup>2</sup> [See *ante*, p. 77.]

<sup>3</sup> [See *ante*, p. 168.]

<sup>4</sup> [See *ante*, p. 77.]

<sup>5</sup> [Isaac Fuller, 1606-72. But the altar-piece at All Souls is said to be by Thornhill. Fuller painted one at Magdalen.]





1. Lodgings below the Hall  
 2. The King's Royal Highness  
 3. The King's Privy Chamber  
 4. The Duke of Richmond  
 5. The Duke of Devonshire  
 6. The Duke of Ormonde  
 7. The Duke of Albemarle  
 8. The Earl of Bath

A reduced copy of FISHER'S GROUND  
 9. The Earl of Lauderdale  
 10. The Lord Pembroke  
 11. The Lord Carrington  
 12. The Lord Croft  
 13. The Lord Belvoir  
 14. The Lord Chamberlain

15. The Lord Keeper  
 16. The Council Office  
 17. The King's Wardrobe  
 18. The Treasury Chamber  
 19. The King's Laboratory  
 20. The Lord Stirling's Office  
 London. Published



Magdalen chapel, which is on blue cloth in *chiar-oscuro*, by one Greenborow,<sup>1</sup> being a *Cæna Domini*, and a Last Judgment on the wall by Fuller, as is the other, but somewhat varied.

Next to Wadham, and the Physic Garden, where were two large locust trees, and as many platana, and some rare plants under the culture of old Bobart.<sup>2</sup>

26th October. We came back to Beaconsfield; next day to London, where we dined at the Lord Chancellor's, with my Lord Belasyse.<sup>3</sup>

27th. Being casually in the privy gallery at Whitehall, his Majesty gave me thanks before divers lords and noblemen for my book of Architecture, and again for my *Sylva*, saying they were the best designed and useful for the matter and subject, the best printed and designed (meaning the *taille-douces* of the Parallel of Architecture) that he had seen. He then caused me to follow him alone to one of the windows, and asked me if I had any paper about me unwritten, and a crayon; I presented him with both, and then laying it on the window-stool, he with his own hands designed to me the plot for the future building of Whitehall, together with the rooms of state, and other particulars. After this, he talked with me of several matters, asking my advice, in which I find his Majesty had an extraordinary talent becoming a magnificent prince.

The same day at Council, there being Com-

<sup>1</sup> [Query,—Robert Greenbury (*f.* 1616-50).]

<sup>2</sup> Jacob Bobart, 1599-1680, was appointed the first keeper of the Physic Garden at Oxford. There is a fine print of him, after Loggan, by Burghers, dated 1675. There exists also a small whole-length of him in the frontispiece to *Vertumnus*, a poem on that Oxford garden. In this he is dressed in a long vest, with a beard. He was succeeded by his son, also Jacob, 1641-1719.

<sup>3</sup> [See *ante*, p. 201.]

missioners to be made to take care of such sick and wounded and prisoners of war, as might be expected upon occasion of a succeeding war and action at sea, war being already declared against the Hollanders, his Majesty was pleased to nominate me to be one, with three other gentlemen, parliament-men, viz. Sir William D'Oyly,<sup>1</sup> Knt. and Bart., Sir Thomas Clifford,<sup>2</sup> and Bullein Rheyms, Esq.; with a salary of £1200 a year amongst us, besides extraordinaries for our care and attention in time of station, each of us being appointed to a particular district, mine falling out to be Kent and Sussex, with power to constitute officers, physicians, chirurgeons, provost-marschals, and to dispose of half of the hospitals through England. After the council, we kissed his Majesty's hand. At this council, I heard Mr. Solicitor Finch<sup>3</sup> plead most elegantly for the merchants trading to the Canaries, praying for a new Charter.

*29th October.* Was the most magnificent triumph by water and land of the Lord Mayor.<sup>4</sup> I dined at Guildhall, at the upper table, placed next to Sir H. Bennet, Secretary of State,<sup>5</sup> opposite to my Lord Chancellor and the Duke of Buckingham, who sate between Monsieur Cominges, the French Ambassador,<sup>6</sup> Lord Treasurer, the Dukes of Ormonde and Albemarle, Earl of Manchester, Lord Chamberlain, and the rest of the great officers of state. My Lord Mayor came twice up to us, first drinking in the golden goblet his Majesty's health, then the

<sup>1</sup> [Sir William D'Oyly of Shottisham, Norfolk, *d.* 1677. He was M.P. for Yarmouth.]

<sup>2</sup> [Sir Thomas Clifford of Ugbrooke, first Baron Clifford of Chudleigh, 1630-73.]

<sup>3</sup> Heneage Finch, 1621-82, afterwards first Earl of Nottingham and Lord Chancellor.

<sup>4</sup> Sir John Lawrence. The pageant for the day was at the cost of the Haberdashers' Company.

<sup>5</sup> [See *ante*, p. 174.]

<sup>6</sup> [See *ante*, p. 203.]

French King's as a compliment to the Ambassador; we returned my Lord Mayor's health, the trumpets and drums sounding. The cheer was not to be imagined for the plenty and rarity, with an infinite number of persons at the tables in that ample hall. The feast was said to cost £1000. I slipped away in the crowd, and came home late.

*31st October.* I was this day 44 years of age; for which I returned thanks to Almighty God, begging His merciful protection for the year to come.

*2nd November.* Her Majesty, the Queen-Mother, came across the gallery in Whitehall to give me thanks for my book of Architecture, which I had presented to her, with a compliment that I did by no means deserve.

*16th.* We chose our treasurer,<sup>1</sup> clerks, and messengers, and appointed our seal, which I ordered should be the good Samaritan, with this motto, *Fac similiter*. Painters' Hall was lent us to meet in. In the great room were divers pictures, some reasonably good, that had been given to the Company by several of the wardens and masters of the Company.

*28rd.* Our statutes now finished, were read before a full assembly of the Royal Society.<sup>2</sup>

*24th.* His Majesty was pleased to tell me what the conference was with the Holland Ambassador, which, as after I found, was the heads of the speech he made at the re-convention of the Parliament, which now began.

*2nd December.* We delivered the Privy Council's letters to the Governors of St. Thomas's Hospital, in Southwark, that a moiety of the house should be reserved for such sick and wounded as should from time to time be sent from the fleet during the war. This being delivered at their Court, the

<sup>1</sup> [See p. 220.]

<sup>2</sup> [See *ante*, p. 196.]

President and several Aldermen, Governors of that Hospital, invited us to a great feast in Fishmongers' Hall.<sup>1</sup>

20th December. To London, our last sitting, taking order for our personal visiting our several districts.<sup>2</sup> I dined at Captain Cocke's (our treasurer), with that most ingenious gentleman, Matthew Wren, son to the Bishop of Ely,<sup>3</sup> and Mr. Joseph Williamson, since Secretary of State.<sup>4</sup>

22nd. I went to the launching of a new ship of two bottoms, invented by Sir William Petty, on which were various opinions;<sup>5</sup> his Majesty being present, gave her the name of the *Experiment*: so I returned home, where I found Sir Humphry Winch,<sup>6</sup> who spent the day with me.

This year I planted the lower grove next the pond at Sayes Court. It was now exceeding cold, and a hard long frosty season, and the comet was very visible.

28th. Some of my poor neighbours dined with me, and others of my tenants, according to my annual custom.

31st. Set my affairs in order, gave God praise for His mercies the past year, and prepared for the reception of the Holy Sacrament, which I partook of the next day, after hearing our minister on the 4th of Galatians, verses 4, 5, of the mystery of our Blessed Saviour's Incarnation.

<sup>1</sup> [Afterwards destroyed in the Great Fire. It had previously been Lord Fanhope's.]

<sup>2</sup> [See *ante*, p. 218.]

<sup>3</sup> [See *ante*, p. 118.]

<sup>4</sup> Afterwards Sir Joseph, 1633-1701. He was Secretary of State, 1660-61, and P.R.S., 1677-80. He represented Thetford and Rochester in several parliaments. At his death he left £6000 to Queen's College, Oxford, where he was educated, and at Rochester he founded a mathematical school. There is a whole-length portrait of him in the Town-hall at Rochester.

<sup>5</sup> [See *ante*, p. 208.]

<sup>6</sup> [A Commissioner of Trade, and later Commissioner of the Admiralty.]

1664-5 : 2nd January. This day was published by me that part of *The Mystery of Jesuitism*<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In a letter to Lord Cornbury, 2nd Jan. 1664, Evelyn says, "I came to present y<sup>r</sup> Lordship with y<sup>r</sup> owne booke [in the margin is written, 'The other part of the Mystery of Jesuitism translated and published by me']: I left it with my Lord y<sup>r</sup> father, because I would not suffer it to be publiq till he had first seene it, who, on y<sup>r</sup> L<sup>ty</sup> score, has so just a title to it. The particulars, w<sup>ch</sup> you will find added after the 4th letter, are extracted out of severall curious papers and passages lying by me, which for being very apposite to y<sup>e</sup> controversy, I thought fit to annex, in danger otherwise to have never ben produced." —In another letter to Lord Cornbury, 9th Feb. 1664, Mr. Evelyn says he undertook the translation by command of his Lordship and of his father the Lord Chancellor.

The authors of the *Biographia Britannica* speak of *The Mystery of Jesuitisme* as one volume; but in the library at Wotton there are three, in duodecimo, with the subjoined titles and contents. The second in order is that translated by Mr. Evelyn.

1. Les Provinciales, or, the Mystery of Jesuitisme, discovered in certain letters written upon occasion of the present difference at Sorbonne between the Jansenists and the Molinists, displaying the pernicious Maxims of the late Casuists. The second edition corrected, with large additional. *Sicut Serpentes*. London: Printed for Richard Royston, and are to be sold by Robert Clavell at the Stag's Head near St. Gregorie's church in St. Paul's Church-yard, 1658.—pp. 360. Additional, pp. 147. At the end are the names of some of the most eminent Casuists.

2. Μυστήριον τῆς Ἀνομίας. That is, Another Part of the Mystery of Jesuitism; or the new Heresie of the Jesuits, publicly maintained at Paris, in the College of Clermont, the xii of December MDCLXI. declared to all the Bishops of France. According to the copy printed at Paris. Together with the Imaginary Heresy, in three Letters, with divers other particulars relating to the abominable Myserie. Never before published in English. London: Printed by James Flesher for Richard Royston, bookseller to his most sacred Majesty, 1664—3 letters, pp. 206. Copy of a Letter from the Reverend Father Valerian, a Capuchin, to Pope Alexander 7th, pp. 207-239. The sense of the French Church, pp. 240-254.

3. The Moral Practice of the Jesuits demonstrated by many remarkable histories of their actions in all parts of the world. Collected either from books of the greatest authority, or most certain and unquestionable records and memorials. By the Doctors of the Sorbonne. Faithfully translated into English (by Dr. Tongue; see hereafter, under 1678, Oct. 1). London:

translated and collected by me though without my name, containing the Imaginary Heresy, with four letters and other pieces.

*4th January.* I went in a coach, it being excessive sharp frost and snow, towards Dover and other parts of Kent, to settle physicians, chirurgeons, agents, marshals, and other officers in all the sea-ports, to take care of such as should be set on shore, wounded, sick, or prisoners, in pursuance of our commission reaching from the North Foreland, in Kent, to Portsmouth, in Hampshire. The rest of the ports in England were allotted to the other Commissioners. That evening, I came to Rochester, where I delivered the Privy Council's letter to the Mayor to receive orders from me.

*5th.* I arrived at Canterbury, and went to the cathedral, exceedingly well repaired since his Majesty's return.

*6th.* To Dover, where Colonel Stroode, Lieutenant of the Castle, having received the letter I brought him from the Duke of Albemarle, made me lodge in it, and I was splendidly treated, assisting me from place to place. Here I settled my first Deputy. The Mayor and officers of the Customs were very civil to me.

*9th.* To Deal.—*10th.* To Sandwich, a pretty town, about two miles from the sea. The Mayor and officers of the Customs were very diligent to serve me. I visited the forts in the way, and returned that night to Canterbury.

*11th.* To Rochester, when I took order to settle officers at Chatham.

*12th.* To Gravesend, and returned home. A cold, busy, but not unpleasant journey.

*25th.* This night being at Whitehall, his Majesty

Printed for Simon Miller, at the Star at the west end of St. Paul's, 1670. See Evelyn's *Miscellaneous Writings*, p. 499. [*Bray's Note.*]

came to me standing in the withdrawing-room, and gave me thanks for publishing *The Mysteries of Jesuitism*, which he said he had carried two days in his pocket, read it, and encouraged me; at which I did not a little wonder: I suppose Sir Robert Murray had given it to him.

*27th January.* Dined at the Lord Chancellor's, who caused me after dinner to sit two or three hours alone with him in his bedchamber.

*2nd February.* I saw a Masque performed at Court, by six gentlemen and six ladies, surprising his Majesty, it being Candlemas-day.

*8th.* Ash Wednesday. I visited our prisoners at Chelsea College, and to examine how the marshal and sutlers behaved. These were prisoners taken in the war; they only complained that their bread was too fine. I dined at Sir Henry Herbert's, Master of the Revels.<sup>1</sup>

*9th.* Dined at my Lord Treasurer's, the Earl of Southampton,<sup>2</sup> in Bloomsbury, where he was building a noble square, or piazza,<sup>3</sup> a little town; his own house stands too low, some noble rooms, a pretty cedar chapel, a naked garden to the north, but good air.<sup>4</sup> I had much discourse with his Lordship, whom I found to be a person of extraordinary parts, but a *valetudinarian*.—I went to St. James's Park, where I saw various animals, and examined the throat of the *onocrotalus*, or pelican, a fowl between a stork and a swan; a melancholy water-fowl, brought from Astracan by the Russian Ambassador; it was diverting to see how he would toss up and turn a flat fish, plaice, or flounder, to

<sup>1</sup> [See *ante*, p. 52. He was the brother of George Herbert.]

<sup>2</sup> [See *ante*, p. 112.]

<sup>3</sup> The Italians mean simply a square by their *piazze*.

<sup>4</sup> Afterwards called Bedford House, the town residence for many years of the Russell family. It was pulled down in 1800; and on the site and the adjoining fields were erected Russell Square, Bedford Place, Russell Place, etc.

get it right into his gullet at its lower beak, which, being filmy, stretches to a prodigious wideness when it devours a great fish. Here was also a small water-fowl, not bigger than a moorhen, that went almost quite erect, like the penguin of America; it would eat as much fish as its whole body weighed; I never saw so unsatiable a devourer, yet the body did not appear to swell the bigger. The Solan geese here are also great devourers, and are said soon to exhaust all the fish in a pond. Here was a curious sort of poultry not much exceeding the size of a tame pigeon, with legs so short as their crops seemed to touch the earth; a milk-white raven; a stork, which was a rarity at this season, seeing he was loose, and could fly loftily; two Balearian cranes,<sup>1</sup> one of which having had one of his legs broken and cut off above the knee, had a wooden or boxen leg and thigh, with a joint so accurately made that the creature could walk and use it as well as if it had been natural; it was made by a soldier. The park was at this time stored with numerous flocks of several sorts of ordinary and extraordinary wild fowl, breeding about the Decoy,<sup>2</sup> which for being near so great a city, and among such a concourse of soldiers and people, is a singular and diverting thing. There were also deer of several countries, white; spotted like leopards; antelopes, an elk, red deer, roebucks, stags, Guinea goats, Arabian sheep, etc. There were withy-pots, or nests, for the wild fowl to lay their eggs in, a little above the surface of the water.

*28rd February.* I was invited to a great feast at Mr. Rich's (a relation of my wife's, now Reader

<sup>1</sup> [Balearic cranes.]

<sup>2</sup> [The Decoy, at this date in course of construction, was at the south-eastern end of St. James's Park. It disappeared (with Duck Island) in 1771.]



at Lincoln's Inn); where was the Duke of Monmouth, the Archbishop of Canterbury, Bishops of London and Winchester, the Speaker of the House of Commons, divers of the Judges, and several other great men.

*24th February.* Dr. Fell,<sup>1</sup> Canon of Christ Church, preached before the King, on 15 ch. Romans, v. 2, a very formal discourse, and in blank verse, according to his manner; however, he is a good man.—Mr. Phillips, preceptor to my son,<sup>2</sup> went to be with the Earl of Pembroke's son, my Lord Herbert.

*2nd March.* I went with his Majesty, into the lobby behind the House of Lords, where I saw the King and the rest of the Lords robe themselves, and got into the House of Lords in a corner near the woolsack, on which the Lord Chancellor sits next below the throne: the King sate in all the regalia, the crown-imperial on his head, the sceptre and globe, etc. The Duke of Albemarle bare the sword, the Duke of Ormonde, the cap of dignity. The rest of the Lords robed in their places:—a most splendid and august convention. Then came the Speaker and the House of Commons, and at the bar made a speech, and afterwards presented several bills, a nod only passing them, the clerk saying, *Le Roy le veult*, as to public bills; as to private, *Soit fait comme il est désiré*. Then, his Majesty made a handsome but short speech, commanding my Lord Privy Seal to prorogue the Parliament, which he did, the Chancellor being ill and absent. I had not before seen this ceremony.

*9th.* I went to receive the poor creatures that were saved out of the *London* frigate,<sup>3</sup> blown up by accident, with above 200 men.

<sup>1</sup> [See *ante*, p. 216.]

<sup>2</sup> [See *ante*, p. 206.]

<sup>3</sup> ["A little on this side of the buoy of the Nore"—says Pepys, 8th March, 1665—"she suddenly blew up"—as they

*29th March.* Went to Goring House,<sup>1</sup> now Mr. Secretary Bennet's, ill built, but the place capable of being made a pretty villa. His Majesty was now finishing the Decoy in the Park.<sup>2</sup>

*2nd April.* Took order about some prisoners sent from Captain Allen's ship, taken in the *Solomon*,<sup>3</sup> viz. the brave men who defended her so gallantly.

*5th.* Was a day of public humiliation and for success of this terrible war,<sup>4</sup> begun doubtless at secret instigation of the French to weaken the States and Protestant interest. Prodigious preparations on both sides.

*6th.* In the afternoon, I saw acted *Mustapha*, a tragedy written by the Earl of Orrery.<sup>5</sup>

*11th.* To London, being now left the only Commissioner to take all necessary orders how to exchange, remove, and keep prisoners, dispose of hospitals, etc.; the rest of the Commissioners being gone to their several districts, in expectation of a sudden engagement.

*19th.* Invited to a great dinner at the Trinity House, where I had business with the Commissioners of the Navy, and to receive the second

were bringing her from Chatham to the Hope. Three hundred men were drowned.]

<sup>1</sup> Buckingham Palace is now built on the site. There is a small print of Goring House, as it then stood.

<sup>2</sup> [In an account for "Workes and Services," drawn up in May, 1671, and printed in Cunningham's *London*, 1850, p. 259, are several items connected with the Decoy, which is said to have been "contrived" by one Sydrach Hilcus. Another person engaged upon it was the Edward Storey who gave his name to Storey's Gate.]

<sup>3</sup> [Pepys calls this Dutch ship the *King Salomon* (see *post*, under 24th April, 1665).]

<sup>4</sup> [It had been declared, 22nd February.]

<sup>5</sup> [*Mustapha, the Son of Solymán the Magnificent*, printed 1668. Pepys saw this on the 3rd at the Duke's Theatre; but does not praise it.]

£5000 impressed for the service of the sick and wounded prisoners.

20th April. To Whitehall, to the King, who called me into his bedchamber as he was dressing, to whom I showed the letter written to me from the Duke of York from the fleet, giving me notice of young Evertzen, and some considerable commanders newly taken in fight with the *Dartmouth* [? *Yarmouth*] and *Diamond* frigates,<sup>1</sup> whom he had sent me as prisoners at war; I went to know of his Majesty how he would have me treat them, when he commanded me to bring the young captain to him, and to take the word of the Dutch Ambassador (who yet remained here) for the other, that he should render himself to me whenever I called on him, and not stir without leave. Upon which I desired more guards, the prison being Chelsea House.<sup>2</sup> I went also to Lord Arlington (the Secretary Bennet lately made a Lord)<sup>3</sup> about other business. Dined at my Lord Chancellor's; none with him but Sir Sackville Crowe, formerly Ambassador at Constantinople; we were very cheerful and merry.

24th. I presented young Captain Evertzen (eldest son of Cornelius, Vice-Admiral of Zealand, and nephew of John, now Admiral, a most valiant

<sup>1</sup> [Cf. Pepys, 17th April, 1665. "To the Duke of Albe-marle's, where he showed me Mr. Coventry's letters, how three Dutch privateers are taken, in one whereof Everson's son is captain. But they have killed poor Captain Golding in the *Diamond* [see *ante*, p. 53]. Two of them, one of 32 and the other of 20 odd guns, did stand stoutly up against her, which hath 46, and the *Yarmouth*, that hath 52 guns, and as many more men as they. So that they did more than we could expect; not yielding till many of their men were killed. And Everson, when he was brought before the Duke of York, and was observed to be shot through the hat, answered, that he wished it had gone through his head, rather than been taken."]

<sup>2</sup> [Chelsea College. See *ante*, p. 223; and *post*, under 24th September, 1667.]

<sup>3</sup> [See *ante*, p. 209.]

person) to his Majesty in his bedchamber. The King gave him his hand to kiss, and restored him his liberty; asked many questions concerning the fight (it being the first blood drawn), his Majesty remembering the many civilities he had formerly received from his relations abroad, who had now so much interest in that considerable Province. Then, I was commanded to go with him to the Holland Ambassador, where he was to stay for his passport, and I was to give him fifty pieces in broad gold. Next day I had the Ambassador's parole for the other Captain, taken in Captain Allen's fight before Cales [Cadiz].<sup>1</sup> I gave the King an account of what I had done, and afterwards asked the same favour for another Captain, which his Majesty gave me.

*28th April.* I went to Tunbridge, to see a solemn exercise at the free-school there.<sup>2</sup>

Having taken orders with my marshal about my prisoners, and with the doctor and chirurgeon to attend the wounded enemies, and of our own men, I went to London again, and visited my charge, several with legs and arms off; miserable objects, God knows.

*16th May.* To London, to consider of the poor orphans and widows made by this bloody beginning, and whose husbands and relations perished in the *London* frigate, of which there were fifty widows, and forty-five of them with child.

*26th.* To treat with the Holland Ambassador at Chelsea,<sup>3</sup> for release of divers prisoners of war in Holland on exchange here. After dinner, being

<sup>1</sup> [Pepys refers to this action, which was fought in Cadiz Bay between eight ships under Allen, and thirty-four of the Dutch Smyrna Fleet (*Diary*, 23rd January, 1665).]

<sup>2</sup> At the annual visitation of the Skinners' Company of London, who are the patrons, at which verses, themes, etc., are spoken before them by the senior scholars.

<sup>3</sup> [See above, p. 227.]

called into the Council-Chamber at Whitehall, I gave his Majesty an account of what I had done, informing him of the vast charge upon us, now amounting to no less than £1000 weekly.

*29th May.* I went with my little boy to my district in Kent, to make up accounts with my officers. Visited the Governor at Dover Castle,<sup>1</sup> where were some of my prisoners.

*8rd June.* In my return went to Gravesend; the fleets being just now engaged, gave special orders for my officers to be ready to receive the wounded and prisoners.

*5th.* To London, to speak with his Majesty and the Duke of Albemarle for horse and foot guards for the prisoners at war, committed more particularly to my charge by a commission apart.

*8th.* I went again to his Grace, thence to the Council, and moved for another privy seal for £20,000, and that I might have the disposal of the Savoy Hospital for the sick and wounded; all which was granted. Hence to the Royal Society, to refresh among the philosophers.

Came news of his Highness's victory,<sup>2</sup> which indeed might have been a complete one, and at once ended the war, had it been pursued, but the cowardice of some, or treachery, or both, frustrated that. We had, however, bonfires, bells, and rejoicing in the city. Next day, the 9th, I had instant orders to repair to the Downs, so as I got to Rochester this evening. Next day, I lay at Deal, where I found all in readiness: but, the fleet being hindered by contrary winds, I came away on the 12th, and went to Dover, and returned to Deal;

<sup>1</sup> [Colonel Stroode (see *ante*, p. 222; and *post*, under 6th January, 1665). "Captain John Stroade is M<sup>r</sup> of the Castle"—says Edward Browne in April, 1664 (Sir T. Browne's *Works*, 1836, i. 57). Pepys also mentions Stroud under 4th June, 1666.]

<sup>2</sup> [Over the Dutch in Sole Bay (off Lowestoft), June 3.]

and on the 18th, hearing the fleet was at Sole Bay, I went homeward, and lay at Chatham, and on the 14th, I got home. On the 15th, came the eldest son of the present Secretary of State to the French King,<sup>1</sup> with much other company, to dine with me. After dinner, I went with him to London, to speak to my Lord General,<sup>2</sup> for more guards, and gave his Majesty an account of my journey to the coasts under my inspection. I also waited on his Royal Highness,<sup>3</sup> now come triumphant from the fleet, gotten into repair. See the whole history of this conflict in my *History of the Dutch War*.<sup>4</sup>

20th June. To London, and represented the state of the sick and wounded to His Majesty in Council, for want of money; he ordered I should apply to my Lord Treasurer and Chancellor of the Exchequer, upon what funds to raise the money promised. We also presented to his Majesty divers expedients for retrenchment of the charge.

This evening making my court to the Duke, I spake to Monsieur Cominges, the French Ambassador,<sup>5</sup> and his Highness granted me six prisoners, Embdeners, who were desirous to go to the Barbadoes with a merchant.

22nd. We waited on the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and got an Order of Council for our money to be paid to the Treasurer of the Navy for our Receivers.

23rd. I dined with Sir Robert Paston, since Earl of Yarmouth,<sup>6</sup> and saw the Duke of Verneuil,

<sup>1</sup> [The Marquis de Berni, eldest son of Hugues de Lionne, Foreign Secretary to Louis XIV. He had accompanied the Embassy, and was supposed to be in love with the famous Miss Jennings of Grammont's *Memoirs*.]

<sup>2</sup> [The Duke of Albemarle.]

<sup>3</sup> [The Duke of York, who {assisted by Prince Rupert and the Earl of Sandwich} had been in command.]

<sup>4</sup> Never completed. See *post*, under 19th August, 1674.

<sup>5</sup> [See *ante*, p. 203.]

<sup>6</sup> [See *ante*, p. 110.]

base brother to the Queen-Mother, a handsome old man, a great hunter.<sup>1</sup>

The Duke of York told us that, when we were in fight, his dog sought out absolutely the very securest place in all the vessel.—In the afternoon, I saw the pompous reception and audience of El Conde de Molina, the Spanish Ambassador, in the Banqueting-house, both their Majesties sitting together under the canopy of state.

30th June. To Chatham; and, 1st July, to the fleet with Lord Sandwich,<sup>2</sup> now Admiral, with whom I went in a pinnace to the Buoy of the Nore, where the whole fleet rode at anchor; went on board the *Prince*, of ninety brass ordnance, haply the best ship in the world, both for building and sailing; she had 700 men. They made a great huzza, or shout, at our approach, three times. Here we dined with many noblemen, gentlemen, and volunteers, served in plate and excellent meat of all sorts. After dinner, came his Majesty, the Duke, and Prince Rupert. Here I saw the King knight Captain Cuttance<sup>3</sup> for behaving so bravely in the late fight. It was surprising to behold the good order, decency, and plenty of all things in a vessel so full of men. The ship received a hundred cannon-shot in her body. Then I went on board the *Charles*, to which after a gun was shot off, came all the flag-officers to his Majesty, who there held a General Council, which determined that his Royal

<sup>1</sup> [Henri de Bourbon, Duc de Verneuil, 1601-82. He was the son of Henri IV. and Henrietta de Balzac, Marquise de Verneuil. He had been legitimised in 1608. This "great hunter" brought with him twenty-four horses, and some dogs, which latter he lost in returning to France.]

<sup>2</sup> [Edward Montagu (or Mountagu), first Earl of Sandwich, 1625-72, Lieut.-Admiral to the Duke of York. He had distinguished himself at Sole Bay (see *ante*, p. 229, n. 2).]

<sup>3</sup> [Sir Roger Cuttance, flag-captain of the *Naseby*, and captain of the Fleet, 1665.]

Highness should adventure himself no more this summer. I came away late, having seen the most glorious fleet that ever spread sails. We returned in his Majesty's yacht with my Lord Sandwich<sup>1</sup> and Mr. Vice-Chamberlain, landing at Chatham on Sunday morning.

*5th July.* I took order for 150 men, who had been recovered of their wounds, to be carried on board the *Clove Tree*, *Carolus Quintus*, and *Zealand*, ships that had been taken by us in the fight; and so returned home.

*7th.* To London, to Sir William Coventry;<sup>2</sup> and so to Syon, where his Majesty sat at Council during the contagion:<sup>3</sup> when business was over, I viewed that seat belonging to the Earl of Northumberland, built out of an old nunnery, of stone, and fair enough, but more celebrated for the garden than it deserves: yet there is excellent wall-fruit, and a pretty fountain; nothing else extraordinary.<sup>4</sup>

*9th.* I went to Hampton-Court,<sup>5</sup> where now the whole Court was, to solicit for money; to carry intercepted letters; confer again with Sir William Coventry, the Duke's Secretary; and so home, having dined with Mr. Secretary Morice.

*16th.* There died of the plague in London this

<sup>1</sup> [See *ante*, p. 231.]

<sup>2</sup> [See *ante*, p. 18.]

<sup>3</sup> [The Great Plague, which ravaged London in this year, carrying off 100,000 persons. It first made its appearance in December, 1664; but Pepys does not begin to speak of it till May, 1665. "24th.—To the Coffee-house, where all the news is of the Dutch being gone, and of the plague growing upon us in this town; and of remedies against it; some saying one thing, and some another."]

<sup>4</sup> [Syon (or Sion) House, Isleworth, Middlesex, the seat of the Northumberlands since 1553. It occupies the site of Syon Monastery, removed from Twickenham in 1431. Some ancient mulberries are still said to date from this period.]

<sup>5</sup> [When the plague appeared at Hampton, the Court moved to Salisbury.]



week 1100; and in the week following, above 2000.<sup>1</sup> Two houses were shut up in our parish.

*2nd August.* A solemn fast through England to deprecate God's displeasure against the land by pestilence and war; our Doctor preaching on 26 Levit. v. 41, 42, that the means to obtain remission of punishment was not to repine at it; but humbly to submit to it.

*3rd.* Came his Grace the Duke of Albemarle, Lord General of all his Majesty's Forces, to visit me, and carried me to dine with him.

*4th.* I went to Wotton with my son and his tutor, Mr. Bohun,<sup>2</sup> Fellow of New College (recommended to me by Dr. Wilkins, and the President of New College, Oxford), for fear of the pestilence, still increasing in London and its environs. On my return, I called at Durdans, where I found Dr. Wilkins, Sir William Petty, and Mr. Hooke,<sup>3</sup> contriving chariots, new rigging for ships, a wheel for one to run races in, and other mechanical inventions; perhaps three such persons together were not to be found elsewhere in Europe, for parts and ingenuity.

*8th.* I waited on the Duke of Albemarle, who was resolved to stay at the Cock-pit, in St. James's Park. Died this week in London, 4000.

*15th.* There perished this week 5000.

*28th.* The contagion still increasing, and growing now all about us, I sent my wife and whole family (two or three necessary servants excepted) to my brother's at Wotton, being resolved to stay at my house myself, and to look after my charge, trusting in the providence and goodness of God.

<sup>1</sup> [At the beginning of August, the number had risen to nearly 3000 per week; the ordinary average being 300.]

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Ralph Bohun, probationary fellow of New College, Oxford. In 1685 he completed his Doctor's degree. In 1701 Evelyn gave him the living of Wotton.

<sup>3</sup> [See *ante*, pp. 76, 178, and 208.]

*5th September.* To Chatham, to inspect my charge, with £900 in my coach.

*7th.* Came home, there perishing near 10,000 poor creatures weekly; however, I went all along the city and suburbs from Kent Street to St. James's, a dismal passage, and dangerous to see so many coffins exposed in the streets, now thin of people; the shops shut up, and all in mournful silence, not knowing whose turn might be next. I went to the Duke of Albemarle for a pest-ship, to wait on our infected men, who were not a few.

*14th.* I went to Wotton; and on 16th September, to visit old Secretary Nicholas,<sup>1</sup> being now at his new purchase of West Horsley,<sup>2</sup> once mortgaged to me by Lord Viscount Montague: a pretty dry seat on the Down. Returned to Wotton.

*17th.* Receiving a letter from Lord Sandwich of a defeat given to the Dutch,<sup>3</sup> I was forced to travel all Sunday. I was exceedingly perplexed to find that near 8000 prisoners were sent to me to dispose of, being more than I had places fit to receive and guard.

*25th.* My Lord Admiral being come from the fleet to Greenwich, I went thence with him to the Cock-pit, to consult with the Duke of Albemarle. I was peremptory that, unless we had £10,000 immediately, the prisoners would starve, and it was proposed it should be raised out of the East India prizes<sup>4</sup> now taken by Lord Sandwich. They

<sup>1</sup> [See *ante*, p. 15.]

<sup>2</sup> [West Horsley Place, which passed to the family of Nicholas from Raleigh's son, Carew. There is a monument to Sir Edward Nicholas in West Horsley Church.]

<sup>3</sup> [On the 12th, when twenty-one of the Dutch Fleet were taken (see Pepys' *Diary*, 14th September, 1665).]

<sup>4</sup> [Two vessels. See Pepys' *Diary*, under 10th September, 1665, and *infra*, p. 235. Evelyn has not yet mentioned Pepys; but Pepys had already visited Sayes Court in the preceding May,

being but two of the commission, and so not empowered to determine, sent an express to his Majesty and Council, to know what they should do. In the meantime, I had five vessels, with competent guards, to keep the prisoners in for the present, to be placed as I should think best. After dinner (which was at the General's) I went over to visit his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury,<sup>1</sup> at Lambeth.

*28th September.* To the General again, to acquaint him of the deplorable state of our men for want of provisions: returned with orders.

*29th.* To Erith, to quicken the sale of the prizes lying there, with order to the commissioner who lay on board till they should be disposed of, £5000 being proportioned for my quarter. Then I delivered the Dutch Vice-Admiral, who was my prisoner, to Mr. Lo . . .<sup>2</sup> of the Marshalsea, he giving me bond in £500 to produce him at my call. I exceedingly pitied this

and had met Evelyn at Lord Brouncker's (*ante*, p. 168) and Captain Cocke's (*ante*, p. 220). On the 10th September aforesaid (a Sunday), he encountered him again at Cocke's, with his fellow-Commissioner, Sir W. D'Oyly; and Pepys' vivacious account of the entertainment may be here interpolated, though it is neglected by Evelyn's graver pen. "The receipt of this news [*i.e.* the taking of the East India Prizes] did put us all into such an ecstasy of joy, that it inspired into Sir J. Minnes and Mr. Evelyn such a spirit of mirth, that in all my life I never met with so merry a two hours as our company this night was. Among other humours, Mr. Evelyn's repeating of some verses made up of nothing but the various acceptations of *may* and *can*, and doing it so aptly upon occasion of something of that nature, and so fast, did make us all die almost with laughing, and did so stop the mouth of Sir J. Minnes in the middle of all his mirth, (and in a thing agreeing with his own manner of genius) that I never saw any man so out-done in all my life; and Sir J. Minnes's mirth too to see himself out-done, was the crown of all our mirth." Evelyn at this date was nearly forty-five; Pepys was thirty-two.]

<sup>1</sup> [Dr. Gilbert Sheldon.]

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Lowman.

brave unhappy person, who had lost with these prizes £40,000 after 20 years' negotiation [trading] in the East Indies. I dined in one of these vessels, of 1200 tons, full of riches.

*1st October.* This afternoon, whilst at evening prayers, tidings were brought me of the birth of a daughter<sup>1</sup> at Wotton, after six sons, in the same chamber I had first took breath in, and at the first day of that month, as I was on the last, 45 years before.

*4th.* The monthly fast.

*11th.* To London, and went through the whole City, having occasion to alight out of the coach in several places about business of money, when I was environed with multitudes of poor pestiferous creatures begging alms: the shops universally shut up, a dreadful prospect! I dined with my Lord General; was to receive £10,000, and had guards to convey both myself and it, and so returned home, through God's infinite mercy.

*17th.* I went to Gravesend; next day to Chatham; thence to Maidstone, in order to the march of 500 prisoners to Leeds Castle,<sup>2</sup> which I had hired of Lord Colepeper. I was earnestly desired by the learned Sir Roger Twisden, and Deputy-Lieutenants, to spare Maidstone from quartering any of my sick flock. Here, Sir Edward Brett sent me some horse to bring up the rear. This country, from Rochester to Maidstone and the Downs, is very agreeable for the prospect.

*21st.* I came from Gravesend, where Sir J. Griffith, the Governor of the Fort, entertained me very handsomely.

*31st.* I was this day 45 years of age, wonderfully

<sup>1</sup> [Mary Evelyn, d. 1685 (see *post*, under 7th March, 1685, and *infra*, under 31st October).]

<sup>2</sup> [Near Hollingbourne in Kent, once the seat of the Colepeper family. It now belongs to Mrs. Wykeham Martin.]

preserved ; for which I blessed God for His infinite goodness towards me.<sup>1</sup>

*23rd November.* Went home, the contagion having now decreased considerably.

*27th.* The Duke of Albemarle was going to Oxford, where both Court and Parliament had been most part of the summer. There was no small suspicion of my Lord Sandwich having permitted divers commanders, who were at the taking of the East India prizes, to break bulk, and to take to themselves jewels, silks, etc. : though I believe some whom I could name filled their pockets, my Lord Sandwich himself had the least share. However, he underwent the blame, and it created him enemies, and prepossessed the Lord General, for he spake to me of it with much zeal and concern, and I believe laid load enough on Lord Sandwich at Oxford.

*8th December.* To my Lord of Albemarle (now returned from Oxford), who was declared General at Sea, to the no small mortification of that excellent person the Earl of Sandwich, whom the

<sup>1</sup> [On the 5th November following—a Sunday—he was visited at Sayes Court by Pepys:—"By water to Deptford, and there made a visit to Mr. Evelyn, who, among other things, showed me most excellent painting in little ; in distemper, Indian ink, water-colours : graving ; and, above all, the whole secret of mezzotinto, and the manner of it, which is very pretty, and good things done with it. He read to me very much also of his discourse, he hath been many years and now is about, about Gardenage ; which will be a most noble and pleasant piece. He read me part of a play or two of his making, very good, but not as he conceits them, I think, to be. He showed me his *Hortus Hyemalis* ; leaves laid up in a book of several plants kept dry, which preserve colour, however, and look very finely, better than any herbal. In fine, a most excellent person he is, and must be allowed a little for a little conceitedness ; but he may well be so, being a man so much above others. He read me, though with too much gusto, some little poems of his own, that were not transcendent, yet one or two very pretty epigrams ; among others, of a lady looking in at a grate, and being pecked at by an eagle that was there." ]

Duke of Albemarle not only suspected faulty about the prizes, but less valiant; himself imagining how easy a thing it were to confound the Hollanders, as well now as heretofore he fought against them upon a more disloyal interest.

*25th December.* Kept Christmas with my hospitable brother, at Wotton.

*30th.* To Woodcote,<sup>1</sup> where I supped at my Lady Mordaunt's at Ashstead, where was a room hung with *pintado*,<sup>2</sup> full of figures great and small, prettily representing sundry trades and occupations of the Indians, with their habits; here supped also Dr. Duke, a learned and facetious gentleman.

*31st.* Now blessed be God for His extraordinary mercies and preservations of me this year, when thousands, and ten thousands, perished, and were swept away on each side of me, there dying in our parish this year 406 of the pestilence!

1665-6: *3rd January.* I supped in Nonsuch House,<sup>3</sup> whither the office of the Exchequer was

<sup>1</sup> [His brother Richard's.]

<sup>2</sup> [Printed or stained chintz or calico, at this date imported from the East Indies.]

<sup>3</sup> Of this famous summer residence of Queen Elizabeth near Epsom not a vestige remains, but "the avenue planted with rows of fair elms." There is a small print of Nonsuch in Speed's Map of Surrey, but a larger one is given by Hoefnagle in his *Collection of Views, some in England, but chiefly abroad*. Lysons has copied the latter in his *Environs of London*, edit. 1796, 153. Pepys mentions the Exchequer money being removed to Nonsuch in August, 1665, and describes the park and house as they appeared in September of the same year:—"Walked up and down the house and park; and a fine place it hath heretofore been, and a fine prospect about the house. A great walk of an elm and a walnut set one after another in order. And all the house on the outside filled with figures of stories, and good painting of Rubens' or Holbein's doing. And one great thing is, that most of the house is covered, I mean the posts and quarters in the walls, covered with lead, and gilded." The building was subsequently pulled down by its last possessor, the Duchess of Cleveland (Lady Castlemaine), and its contents dispersed. A modern structure has been raised near its site.

transferred during the plague, at my good friend's Mr. Packer's,<sup>1</sup> and took an exact view of the plaster statues and *basso-rilievos* inserted betwixt the timbers and puncheons of the outside walls of the Court; which must needs have been the work of some celebrated Italian. I much admired how they had lasted so well and entire since the time of Henry VIII., exposed as they are to the air;<sup>2</sup> and pity it is they are not taken out and preserved in some dry place; a gallery would become them. There are some *mezzo-rilievos* as big as the life; the story is of the Heathen Gods, emblems, compartments, etc. The palace consists of two courts, of which the first is of stone, castle like, by the Lord Lumleys (of whom it was purchased), the other of timber, a Gothic fabric, but these walls incomparably beautified. I observed that the appearing timber-puncheons, entrelices, etc., were all so covered with scales of slate, that it seemed carved in the wood and painted, the slate fastened on the timber in pretty figures, that has, like a coat of armour, preserved it from rotting. There stand in the garden two handsome stone pyramids, and the avenue planted with rows of fair elms, but the rest of these goodly trees, both of this and of Worcester Park<sup>3</sup> adjoining, were felled by those destructive and avaricious rebels in the late war, which defaced one of the stateliest seats his Majesty had.

12th January. After much, and indeed extraordinary mirth and cheer, all my brothers, our wives, and children, being together, and after much sorrow and trouble during this contagion, which separated our families as well as others, I returned

<sup>1</sup> [See *post*, under 6th August, 1674.]

<sup>2</sup> [They are said to have been cast in rye-dough.]

<sup>3</sup> [Worcester Park, once a part of Nonsuch Great Park, is now partially built over.]

to my house, but my wife went back to Wotton. I not as yet willing to adventure her, the contagion, though exceedingly abated, not as yet wholly extinguished amongst us.

*29th January.* I went to wait on his Majesty, now returned from Oxford to Hampton-Court, where the Duke of Albemarle presented me to him; he ran towards me, and in a most gracious manner gave me his hand to kiss, with many thanks for my care and faithfulness in his service in a time of such great danger, when everybody fled their employments; he told me he was much obliged to me, and said he was several times concerned for me, and the peril I underwent, and did receive my service most acceptably (though in truth I did but do my duty, and O that I had performed it as I ought!). After this, his Majesty was pleased to talk with me alone, near an hour, of several particulars of my employment, and ordered me to attend him again on the Thursday following at Whitehall. Then the Duke came towards me, and embraced me with much kindness, telling me if he had thought my danger would have been so great, he would not have suffered his Majesty to employ me in that station. Then came to salute me my Lord of St. Albans, Lord Arlington, Sir William Coventry, and several great persons; <sup>1</sup> after which, I got home, not being very well in health.

The Court was now in deep mourning for the French Queen-Mother.<sup>2</sup>

*2nd February.* To London; his Majesty now come to Whitehall, where I heard and saw my Lord Mayor (and brethren) make his speech of welcome, and the two Sheriffs were knighted.

<sup>1</sup> [See *ante*, pp. 149, 227, and 232.]

<sup>2</sup> [Anne of Austria, widow of Louis XIII., died 20th January, 1666.]



*6th February.* My wife and family returned to me from the country, where they had been since August, by reason of the contagion, now almost universally ceasing. Blessed be God for His infinite mercy in preserving us! I, having gone through so much danger, and lost so many of my poor officers, escaping still myself that I might live to recount and magnify His goodness to me.

*8th.* I had another gracious reception by his Majesty, who called me into his bedchamber, to lay before and describe to him my project of an Infirmary, which I read to him, who, with great approbation, recommended it to his Royal Highness.

*20th.* To the Commissioners of the Navy who, having seen the project of the Infirmary, encouraged the work, and were very earnest it should be set about immediately; but I saw no money, though a very moderate expense would have saved thousands to his Majesty, and been much more commodious for the cure and quartering of our sick and wounded, than the dispersing them into private houses, where many more chirurgeons and attendants were necessary, and the people tempted to debauchery.

*21st.* Went to my Lord Treasurer for an assignment of £40,000 upon the two last quarters for support of the next year's charge. Next day, to Duke of Albemarle and Secretary of State, to desire them to propose it to the Council.

*1st March.* To London, and presented his Majesty my book intituled, *The pernicious Consequences of the new Heresy of the Jesuits against Kings and States.*<sup>1</sup>

*7th.* Dr. Sancroft,<sup>2</sup> since Archbishop of Canter-

<sup>1</sup> See *ante*, p. 221.

<sup>2</sup> [Dr. William Sancroft, 1617-93, at this date Dean of St. Paul's.]

bury, preached before the King about the identity and immutability of God, on Psalm cii. 27.

18th March. To Chatham, to view a place designed for an Infirmary.

15th. My charge now amounted to near £7000 [weekly].

22nd. The Royal Society re-assembled, after the dispersion from the contagion.

24th. Sent £2000 to Chatham.

1st April. To London, to consult about ordering the natural rarities belonging to the Repository of the Royal Society; referred to a Committee.

10th. Visited Sir William D'Oyly,<sup>1</sup> surprised with a fit of apoplexy, and in extreme danger.

11th. Dr. Bathurst<sup>2</sup> preached before the King, from "I say unto you all, watch"—a seasonable and most excellent discourse. When his Majesty came from chapel, he called to me in the lobby, and told me he must now have me sworn for a Justice of Peace (having long since made me of the Commission); which I declined as inconsistent with the other service I was engaged in, and humbly desired to be excused. After dinner, waiting on him, I gave him the first notice of the Spaniards referring the umpirage of the peace betwixt them and Portugal to the French King, which came to me in a letter from France before the Secretaries of State had any news of it. After this, his Majesty again asked me if I had found out any able person about our parts that might supply my place of Justice of Peace (the office in the world I had most industriously avoided, in regard of the perpetual

<sup>1</sup> See *ante*, p. 218. Pepys records a wager which Sir William laid with him, of "a poll of ling, a brace of carps, and a pottle of wine; and Sir W. Pen, and Mr. Scowen to be at the eating of them" (3rd June, 1667).

<sup>2</sup> [Dr. Ralph Bathurst, 1620-1704, King's Chaplain, President of Trinity College, Cambridge, and later Dean of Wells. There is a life of him by Thomas Warton.]

trouble thereof in these numerous parishes); on which I nominated one, whom the King commanded me to give immediate notice of to my Lord Chancellor, and I should be excused; for which I rendered his Majesty many thanks.—From thence, I went to the Royal Society, where I was chosen by twenty-seven voices to be one of their Council for the ensuing year; but, upon my earnest suit in respect of my other affairs, I got to be excused—and so home.

*15th April.* Our parish was now more infected with the plague than ever, and so was all the country about, though almost quite ceased at London.

*24th.* To London about our Mint-Commission, and sat in the inner Court of Wards.

*8th May.* To Queenborough, where finding the *Richmond* frigate, I sailed to the Buoy of the Nore to my Lord General and Prince Rupert, where was the *rendezvous* of the most glorious fleet in the world, now preparing to meet the Hollander.—Went to visit my cousin, Hales,<sup>1</sup> at a sweetly-watered place at Chilston, near Bockton [Boughton Malherbe]. The next morning, to Leeds Castle, once a famous hold, now hired by me of my Lord Colepeper for a prison.<sup>2</sup> Here I flowed the dry moat, made a new drawbridge, brought spring water into the court of the Castle to an old fountain, and took order for the repairs.

*22nd.* Waited on my Lord Chancellor at his new palace<sup>3</sup> and Lord Berkeley's;<sup>4</sup> built next to it.

<sup>1</sup> [Edward Hales.]

<sup>2</sup> [See *ante*, p. 236.]

<sup>3</sup> [In Piccadilly (see *ante*, p. 214).]

<sup>4</sup> John Berkeley, first Baron Berkeley of Stratton (Stratton Fight), *d.* 1678. He was Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland in 1670-72, and Ambassador to France in 1676-77. His new house, next to the Lord Chancellor's, was well known as Berkeley House—the neighbourhood of Piccadilly being the then favourite locality for

24th May. Dined with Lord Cornbury,<sup>1</sup> now made Lord Chamberlain to the Queen; who kept a very honourable table.

1st June. Being in my garden at six o'clock in the evening, and hearing the great guns go thick off, I took horse and rode that night to Rochester; thence, next day towards the Downs and sea-coast, but meeting the Lieutenant of the *Hampshire* frigate, who told me what passed, or rather what had not passed, I returned to London, there being no noise, or appearance, at Deal, or on that coast of any engagement. Recounting this to his Majesty, whom I found at St. James's Park, impatiently expecting, and knowing that Prince Rupert was loose about three at St. Helen's Point at N. of the Isle of Wight, it greatly rejoiced him; but he was astonished when I assured him they heard nothing of the guns in the Downs, nor did the Lieutenant who landed there by five that morning.

3rd. Whit-Sunday. After sermon came news that the Duke of Albemarle was still in fight, and had been all Saturday, and that Captain Harman's ship (the *Henry*) was like to be burnt. Then a letter from Mr. Bertie that Prince Rupert was come up with his squadron (according to my former advice of his being loose and in the way), and put new courage into our fleet, now in a manner yielding ground; so that now we were chasing the chasers; that the Duke of Albemarle was slightly wounded, and the rest still in great danger. So, having been much wearied with my journey, I slipped home, the guns still roaring very fiercely.

what Evelyn styles "new palaces." It was afterwards bought by the first Duke of Devonshire, who died here in 1707. In 1733 it was burned down, and rebuilt by William Kent for the third Duke (see *post*, under 25th September, 1672).

<sup>1</sup> [See *ante*, p. 214.]

*5th June.* I went this morning to London, where came several particulars of the fight.<sup>1</sup>

*6th.* Came Sir Daniel Harvey from the General, and related the dreadful encounter, on which his Majesty commanded me to despatch an extraordinary physician and more chirurgeons. It was on the solemn Fast-day when the news came; his Majesty being in the chapel made a sudden stop to hear the relation, which being with much advantage on our side, his Majesty commanded that public thanks should immediately be given as for a victory. The Dean of the chapel going down to give notice of it to the other Dean officiating; and notice was likewise sent to St. Paul's and Westminster-Abbey. But this was no sooner over, than news came that our loss was very great both in ships and men; that the *Prince* frigate was burnt, and as noble a vessel of 90 brass guns lost; and the taking of Sir George Ayscue, and exceeding shattering of both fleets; so as both being obstinate, both parted rather for want of ammunition and tackle than courage; our General retreating like a lion; which exceedingly abated of our former joy. There was, however, orders given for bonfires and bells; but, God knows, it was rather a deliverance than a triumph. So much it pleased God to humble our late over-confidence that nothing could withstand the Duke of Albemarle, who, in good truth, made too forward a reckoning of his success now, because he had once beaten the Dutch in another quarrel; and being ambitious to outdo the Earl of Sandwich, whom he had prejudicated as deficient in courage.

*7th.* I sent more chirurgeons, linen, medicaments, etc., to the several ports in my district.

<sup>1</sup> [This was the four days' fight in the Downs between Monck and Prince Rupert and the Dutch, in which the victory was doubtful.]

8th June. Dined with me Sir Alexander Fraizer,<sup>1</sup> prime physician to his Majesty; afterwards, went on board his Majesty's pleasure-boat, when I saw the *London* frigate launched, a most stately ship, built by the City to supply that which was burnt by accident some time since;<sup>2</sup> the King, Lord Mayor and Sheriffs, being there with great banquet.

11th. Trinity Monday, after a sermon, applied to the re-meeting of the Corporation of the Trinity-House, after the late raging and wasting pestilence: I dined with them in their new room in Deptford, the first time since it was rebuilt.<sup>3</sup>

15th. I went to Chatham.—16th. In the *Jemmy* yacht (an incomparable sailer) to sea, arrived by noon at the fleet at the Buoy at the Nore, dined with Prince Rupert and the General.

17th. Came his Majesty, the Duke, and many noblemen. After Council, we went to prayers. My business being despatched, I returned to Chatham, having lain but one night in the *Royal Charles*;<sup>4</sup> we had a tempestuous sea. I went on shore at Sheerness, where they were building an arsenal for the fleet, and designing a royal fort with a receptacle for great ships to ride at anchor; but here I beheld the sad spectacle, more than half that gallant bulwark of the kingdom miserably shattered, hardly a vessel entire, but appearing rather so many wrecks and hulls, so cruelly had the Dutch mangled us. The loss of the *Prince*, that gallant vessel, had been a loss to be universally deplored, none knowing for what reason we first engaged in this ungrateful war; we lost besides nine or ten more, and near 600 men slain and 1100 wounded, 2000 prisoners; to balance which,

<sup>1</sup> [See *ante*, p. 201.]

<sup>2</sup> [See *ante*, p. 225.]

<sup>3</sup> [This was pulled down in 1787; but the Corporation had previously moved to London. Its present home is on Tower Hill.]

<sup>4</sup> [See *post*, under 8th June, 1667.]

perhaps we might destroy eighteen or twenty of the enemy's ships, and 700 or 800 poor men.

18th *June*. Weary of this sad sight, I returned home.

2nd *July*. Came Sir John Duncombe<sup>1</sup> and Mr. Thomas Chicheley,<sup>2</sup> both Privy Councillors and Commissioners of His Majesty's Ordnance, to visit me, and let me know that his Majesty had in Council nominated me to be one of the Commissioners for regulating the farming and making of saltpetre through the whole kingdom, and that we were to sit in the Tower the next day. When they were gone, came to see me Sir John Cotton,<sup>3</sup> heir to the famous antiquary, Sir Robert Cotton: a pretended great Grecian, but had by no means the parts, or genius of his grandfather.

3rd. I went to sit with the Commissioners at the Tower, where our Commission being read, we made some progress in business, our Secretary being Sir George Wharton, that famous mathematician who wrote the yearly Almanack during his Majesty's troubles.<sup>4</sup> Thence, to Painters' Hall, to our other commission, and dined at my Lord Mayor's.

4th. The solemn Fast-day. Dr. Meggot<sup>5</sup> preached an excellent discourse before the King

<sup>1</sup> "Duncomb was a judicious man, but very haughty, and apt to raise enemies against himself. He was an able Parliament man: but could not go into all the designs of the Court; for he had a sense of religion, and a zeal for the liberty of his country" (Burnet's *Hist. of His Own Times*, 1724, i. 265).

<sup>2</sup> [Thomas Chicheley, 1618-94; knighted in 1670. He was Master-General of the Ordnance, 1670-74; and also, as Evelyn tells us, a member of the Privy Council.]

<sup>3</sup> [See *ante*, vol. i. p. 91; and *post*, under 12th March, 1668.]

<sup>4</sup> [George Wharton, 1617-81. He was created baronet in 1677. He issued his Almanac from 1641 to 1666. From 1660 to 1681 he was paymaster of the Ordnance Office.]

<sup>5</sup> [Dr. Richard Meggot, d. 1692; afterwards Dean of Winchester (see *post*, under 16th September, 1685).]

on the terrors of God's judgments. After sermon, I waited on my Lord Archbishop of Canterbury and Bishop of Winchester, where the Dean of Westminster spoke to me about putting into my hands the disposal of fifty pounds, which the charitable people of Oxford had sent to be distributed among the sick and wounded seamen since the battle. Hence, I went to the Lord Chancellor's to joy him of his Royal Highness's second son, now born at St. James's; and to desire the use of the Star-chamber for our Commissioners to meet in, Painters' Hall not being so convenient.

*12th July.* We sat the first time in the Star-chamber.<sup>1</sup> There was now added to our commission Sir George Downing<sup>2</sup> (one that had been a great . . . against his Majesty, but now insinuated into his favour; and, from a pedagogue and fanatic preacher, not worth a groat, had become excessively rich), to inspect the hospitals and treat about prisons.

*14th.* Sat at the Tower with Sir J. Duncombe<sup>3</sup> and Lord Berkeley,<sup>4</sup> to sign deputations for undertakers to furnish their proportions of saltpetre.

*17th.* To London, to prepare for the next engagement of the fleets, now gotten to sea again.

*22nd.* Our parish still infected with the contagion.

*25th.* The fleets engaged. I dined at Lord

<sup>1</sup> [At the end of Westminster Hall.]

<sup>2</sup> Sir George Downing, 1623-84, Secretary to the Treasury, and Commissioner of the Customs. He had been recently made a baronet (1663), and was now a zealous courtier; though, during the Commonwealth, as Cromwell's Resident in Holland, he had been no less zealous a republican. He subsequently went to Holland as Ambassador from the King. To him belongs the credit of having engaged Pepys about the year 1659, as one of the clerks in a department of the Exchequer then under his management. For his character, of which Evelyn speaks as we see, and Pepys leaves a somewhat doubtful impression, see Lord Clarendon's *Life*.

<sup>3</sup> [See *ante*, p. 247.]

<sup>4</sup> [See *ante*, p. 243.]



Berkeley's, at St. James's, where dined my Lady Harrietta Hyde, Lord Arlington, and Sir John Duncombe.<sup>1</sup>

29th July. The pestilence now fresh increasing in our parish, I forbore going to church. In the afternoon came tidings of our victory over the Dutch, sinking some, and driving others aground, and into their ports.<sup>2</sup>

1st August. I went to Dr. Keffler, who married the daughter of the famous chemist, Drebbell,<sup>3</sup> inventor of the bodied scarlet. I went to see his iron ovens, made portable (formerly) for the Prince of Orange's army: supped at the Rhenish Wine-House<sup>4</sup> with divers Scots gentlemen.

6th. Dined with Mr. Povey, and then went with him to see a country house he had bought near Brentford; <sup>5</sup> returning by Kensington; which house stands to a very graceful avenue of trees, but it is an ordinary building, especially one part.

8th. Dined at Sir Stephen Fox's<sup>6</sup> with several

<sup>1</sup> [See *ante*, p. 247.]

<sup>2</sup> [This was the defeat off the North Foreland on 25th July, when the Dutch were chased into their harbours.]

<sup>3</sup> Cornelius van Drebbell, 1572-1634. He was famous for other discoveries in science besides that mentioned by Evelyn—the most important of which was the thermometer. He also made improvements in microscopes and telescopes; and though something of an empiric, possessed a considerable knowledge of chemistry and of different branches of natural philosophy.

<sup>4</sup> [Probably the Rhenish Wine House in Channel or Cannon Row, where Dorset afterwards found Prior reading Horace (cf. Pepys' *Diary*, 30th July, 1660).]

<sup>5</sup> [See *ante*, p. 211. This country house, situated near Hounslow, was called the Priory.]

<sup>6</sup> Sir Stephen Fox, 1627-1716. He was knighted in 1665, made Clerk of the Green Cloth, and Paymaster of the Forces by Charles II. He was father of the first Earl of Ilchester, and of the first Baron Holland, and grandfather of Charles James Fox. He projected Chelsea College—the honour of which has generally been attributed to Nell Gwyn. He also founded a new church and a set of alms-houses at his seat, Farley, in Wilts. (See *post*, under 6th September, 1680.)

friends and, on the 10th, with Mr. Oudart,<sup>1</sup> Secretary of the Latin tongue.

17th August. Dined with the Lord Chancellor, whom I intreated to visit the Hospital of the Savoy,<sup>2</sup> and reduce it (after the great abuse that had been continued) to its original institution for the benefit of the poor, which he promised to do.

25th. Waited on Sir William D'Oyly, now recovered, as it were, miraculously.<sup>3</sup> In the afternoon, visited the Savoy Hospital, where I stayed to see the miserably dismembered and wounded men dressed, and gave some necessary orders. Then to my Lord Chancellor, who had, with the Bishop of London and others in the commission,<sup>4</sup> chosen me one of the three surveyors of the repairs of Paul's, and to consider of a model for the new building, or, if it might be, repairing of the steeple, which was most decayed.

26th. The contagion still continuing, we had the Church-service at home.

27th. I went to St. Paul's church, where, with Dr. Wren, Mr. Pratt,<sup>5</sup> Mr. May,<sup>6</sup> Mr. Thomas Chicheley,<sup>7</sup> Mr. Slingsby,<sup>8</sup> the Bishop of London,<sup>9</sup> the Dean of St. Paul's,<sup>10</sup> and several expert workmen, we went about to survey the general decays of that ancient and venerable church, and to set down in writing the particulars of what was fit to be done, with the charge thereof, giving our opinion

<sup>1</sup> [See *ante*, p. 213.]

<sup>2</sup> [See *ante*, p. 229.]

<sup>3</sup> [See *ante*, p. 242.]

<sup>4</sup> [The Commission of restoration dated from April, 1663. But the destruction of the building in the Great Fire put an end to its labours.]

<sup>5</sup> [See *ante*, p. 102. Pratt was the architect of Clarendon House.]

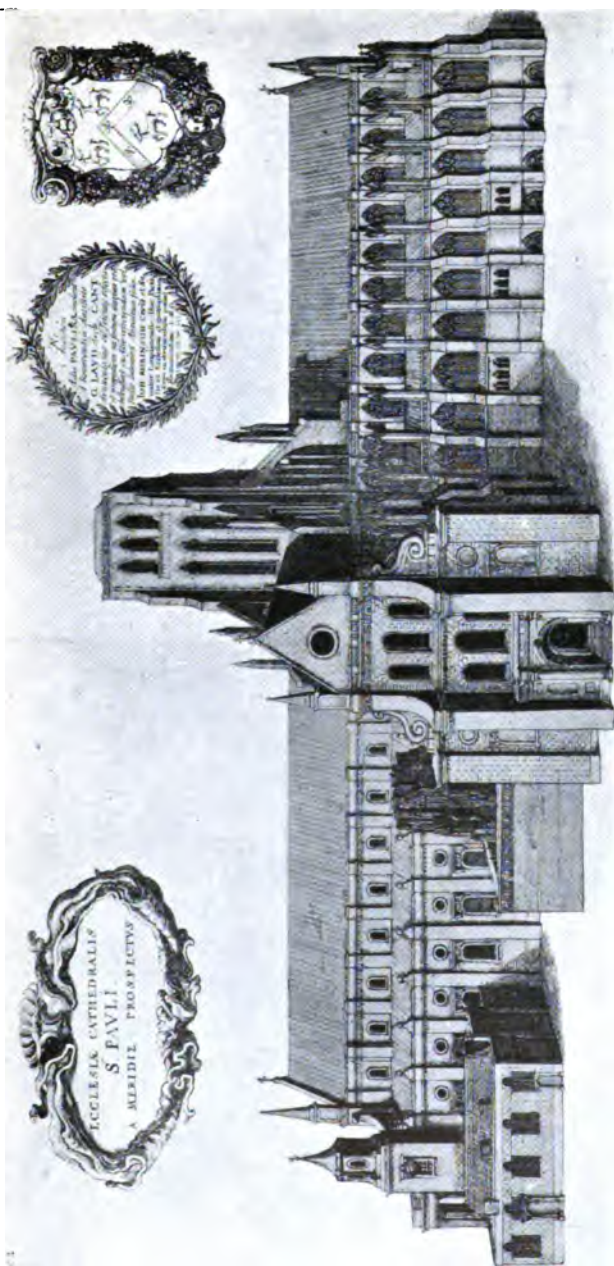
<sup>6</sup> [See *ante*, p. 214.]

<sup>7</sup> [See *ante*, p. 247.]

<sup>8</sup> [See *ante*, p. 194.]

<sup>9</sup> [Dr. Henchman (see *ante*, p. 141).]

<sup>10</sup> Dr. Sancroft, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury (see *ante*, p. 241).



ST. PAUL'S CATHEDRAL BEFORE THE FIRE (SOUTH SIDE)



from article to article. Finding the main building to recede outwards, it was the opinion of Chicheley and Mr. Pratt that it had been so built *ab origine* for an effect in perspective, in regard of the height; but I was, with Dr. Wren, quite of another judgment, and so we entered it; we plumbed the uprights in several places. When we came to the steeple,<sup>1</sup> it was deliberated whether it were not well enough to repair it only on its old foundation, with reservation to the four pillars; this Mr. Chicheley and Mr. Pratt were also for, but we totally rejected it, and persisted that it required a new foundation, not only in regard of the necessity, but for that the shape of what stood was very mean, and we had a mind to build it with a noble cupola, a form of church-building not as yet known in England, but of wonderful grace. For this purpose, we offered to bring in a plan and estimate, which, after much contest, was at last assented to, and that we should nominate a committee of able workmen to examine the present foundation. This concluded, we drew all up in writing, and so went with my Lord Bishop to the Dean's.

*28th August.* Sat at the Star-chamber. Next day, to the Royal Society, where one Mercator,<sup>2</sup> an excellent mathematician, produced his rare clock and new motion to perform the equations, and Mr. Rooke, his new pendulum.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> [The steeple had been taken down in 1651 and never effectively restored.]

<sup>2</sup> Nicholas Mercator, 1640-87, the mathematician, not to be confounded with his namesake, the inventor of Mercator's Projection. After the Restoration, he settled in England, where his scientific attainments procured him the honour of being elected a Fellow of the Royal Society.

<sup>3</sup> Laurence Rooke, 1622-62, was Astronomy, and subsequently Geometry, Professor of Gresham College. He assisted in the formation of the Royal Society.

*2nd September.* This fatal night, about ten, began the deplorable fire, near Fish-street, in London.<sup>1</sup>

*3rd.* I had public prayers at home. The fire continuing, after dinner, I took coach with my wife and son, and went to the Bankside in Southwark, where we beheld that dismal spectacle, the whole city in dreadful flames near the water-side; all the houses from the Bridge, all Thames-street, and upwards towards Cheapside, down to the Three Cranes,<sup>2</sup> were now consumed; and so returned, exceeding astonished what would become of the rest.

The fire having continued all this night (if I may call that night which was light as day for ten miles round about, after a dreadful manner), when conspiring with a fierce eastern wind in a very dry season, I went on foot to the same place; and saw the whole south part of the City burning from Cheapside to the Thames, and all along Cornhill (for it likewise kindled back against the wind as well as forward), Tower-street, Fenchurch-street, Gracious-street,<sup>3</sup> and so along to Baynard's Castle, and was now taking hold of St. Paul's church, to which the scaffolds contributed exceedingly. The conflagration was so universal, and the people so astonished, that, from the beginning, I know not by what despondency, or fate, they hardly stirred to quench it; so that there was nothing heard, or seen, but crying out and lamentation, running about like distracted creatures, without at all attempting to save even their goods; such a strange consternation there was upon them, so as it burned both in breadth and length, the churches, public

<sup>1</sup> [It began, soon after midnight, on Saturday, 1st September, and continued until the 6th.]

<sup>2</sup> [In the Vintry.]

<sup>3</sup> Now Gracechurch Street.







halls, Exchange, hospitals, monuments, and ornaments; leaping after a prodigious manner, from house to house, and street to street, at great distances one from the other. For the heat, with a long set of fair and warm weather, had even ignited the air, and prepared the materials to conceive the fire, which devoured, after an incredible manner, houses, furniture, and everything. Here, we saw the Thames covered with goods floating, all the barges and boats laden with what some had time and courage to save, as, on the other side, the carts, etc., carrying out to the fields, which for many miles were strewn with movables of all sorts, and tents erecting to shelter both people and what goods they could get away. Oh, the miserable and calamitous spectacle! such as haply the world had not seen since the foundation of it, nor be outdone till the universal conflagration thereof. All the sky was of a fiery aspect, like the top of a burning oven, and the light seen above forty miles round-about for many nights. God grant mine eyes may never behold the like, who now saw above 10,000 houses all in one flame! The noise and cracking and thunder of the impetuous flames, the shrieking of women and children, the hurry of people, the fall of towers, houses, and churches, was like a hideous storm; and the air all about so hot and inflamed, that at the last one was not able to approach it, so that they were forced to stand still, and let the flames burn on, which they did, for near two miles in length and one in breadth. The clouds also of smoke were dismal, and reached, upon computation, near fifty miles in length. Thus, I left it this afternoon burning, a resemblance of Sodom, or the last day. It forcibly called to my mind that passage—*non enim hic habemus stabilem civitatem*: the ruins resembling the picture of Troy. London was, but is no more! Thus, I returned.

*4th September.* The burning still rages, and it is now gotten as far as the Inner Temple. All Fleet-street, the Old Bailey, Ludgate-hill, Warwick-lane, Newgate, Paul's-chain, Watling-street, now flaming, and most of it reduced to ashes ; the stones of Paul's flew like grenadoes, the melting lead running down the streets in a stream, and the very pavements glowing with fiery redness, so as no horse, nor man, was able to tread on them, and the demolition had stopped all the passages, so that no help could be applied. The eastern wind still more impetuously driving the flames forward. Nothing but the Almighty power of God was able to stop them ; for vain was the help of man.

*5th.* It crossed towards Whitehall ; but oh ! the confusion there was then at that Court ! It pleased his Majesty to command me, among the rest, to look after the quenching of Fetter-lane end, to preserve (if possible) that part of Holborn, whilst the rest of the gentlemen took their several posts, some at one part, and some at another (for now they began to bestir themselves, and not till now, who hitherto had stood as men intoxicated, with their hands across), and began to consider that nothing was likely to put a stop but the blowing up of so many houses as might make a wider gap than any had yet been made by the ordinary method of pulling them down with engines. This some stout seamen proposed early enough to have saved near the whole City, but this some tenacious and avaricious men, aldermen, etc., would not permit, because their houses must have been of the first. It was, therefore, now commended to be practised ; and my concern being particularly for the Hospital of St. Bartholomew, near Smithfield, where I had many wounded and sick men, made me the more diligent to promote it ; nor was my care for the Savoy less. It now

pleased God, by abating the wind, and by the industry of the people, when almost all was lost infusing a new spirit into them, that the fury of it began sensibly to abate about noon, so as it came no farther than the Temple westward, nor than the entrance of Smithfield, north: but continued all this day and night so impetuous towards Cripplegate and the Tower, as made us all despair. It also brake out again in the Temple; but the courage of the multitude persisting, and many houses being blown up, such gaps and desolations were soon made, as, with the former three days' consumption, the back fire did not so vehemently urge upon the rest as formerly. There was yet no standing near the burning and glowing ruins by near a furlong's space.

The coal and wood wharfs, and magazines of oil, rosin, etc., did infinite mischief, so as the invective which a little before I had dedicated to his Majesty and published,<sup>1</sup> giving warning what probably might be the issue of suffering those shops to be in the City was looked upon as a prophecy.

The poor inhabitants were dispersed about St. George's Fields, and Moorfields, as far as Highgate, and several miles in circle, some under tents, some under miserable huts and hovels, many without a rag, or any necessary utensils, bed or board, who from delicateness, riches, and easy accommodations in stately and well-furnished houses, were now reduced to extremest misery and poverty.

In this calamitous condition, I returned with a sad heart to my house, blessing and adoring the distinguishing mercy of God to me and mine, who, in the midst of all this ruin, was like Lot, in my little Zoar, safe and sound.

<sup>1</sup> *Fumifugium* (see *ante*, p. 178).

*6th September.* Thursday. I represented to his Majesty the case of the French prisoners at war in my custody, and besought him that there might be still the same care of watching at all places contiguous to unseized houses. It is not indeed imaginable how extraordinary the vigilance and activity of the King and the Duke was, even labouring in person, and being present to command, order, reward, or encourage workmen; by which he showed his affection to his people, and gained theirs. Having, then, disposed of some under cure at the Savoy, I returned to Whitehall, where I dined at Mr. Offley's,<sup>1</sup> the groom-porter, who was my relation.

*7th.* I went this morning on foot from Whitehall as far as London Bridge, through the late Fleet-street, Ludgate-hill by St. Paul's, Cheapside, Exchange, Bishopsgate, Aldersgate, and out to Moorfields, thence through Cornhill, etc., with extraordinary difficulty, clambering over heaps of yet smoking rubbish, and frequently mistaking where I was: the ground under my feet so hot, that it even burnt the soles of my shoes. In the meantime, his Majesty got to the Tower by water, to demolish the houses about the graff, which, being built entirely about it, had they taken fire and attacked the White Tower, where the magazine of powder lay, would undoubtedly not only have beaten down and destroyed all the bridge, but sunk and torn the vessels in the river, and rendered the demolition beyond all expression for several miles about the country.

At my return, I was infinitely concerned to find that goodly Church, St. Paul's—now a sad ruin, and that beautiful portico (for structure comparable to any in Europe, as not long before repaired by

<sup>1</sup> [See *ante*, p. 6.]





1. St. Paul's	16. Barbican, the	31. The Bridge	46. The Tower
2. St. Dunstons	17. The Church	32. The Church	47. The Church
3. St. Dunstons	18. The Church	33. The Church	48. The Church
4. St. Dunstons	19. The Church	34. The Church	49. The Church
5. St. Dunstons	20. The Church	35. The Church	50. The Church
6. St. Dunstons	21. The Church	36. The Church	51. The Church
7. St. Dunstons	22. The Church	37. The Church	52. The Church
8. St. Dunstons	23. The Church	38. The Church	53. The Church
9. St. Dunstons	24. The Church	39. The Church	54. The Church
10. St. Dunstons	25. The Church	40. The Church	55. The Church
11. St. Dunstons	26. The Church	41. The Church	56. The Church
12. St. Dunstons	27. The Church	42. The Church	57. The Church
13. St. Dunstons	28. The Church	43. The Church	58. The Church
14. St. Dunstons	29. The Church	44. The Church	59. The Church
15. St. Dunstons	30. The Church	45. The Church	60. The Church
16. St. Dunstons	31. The Church	46. The Church	61. The Church
17. St. Dunstons	32. The Church	47. The Church	62. The Church
18. St. Dunstons	33. The Church	48. The Church	63. The Church
19. St. Dunstons	34. The Church	49. The Church	64. The Church
20. St. Dunstons	35. The Church	50. The Church	65. The Church
21. St. Dunstons	36. The Church	51. The Church	66. The Church
22. St. Dunstons	37. The Church	52. The Church	67. The Church
23. St. Dunstons	38. The Church	53. The Church	68. The Church
24. St. Dunstons	39. The Church	54. The Church	69. The Church
25. St. Dunstons	40. The Church	55. The Church	70. The Church
26. St. Dunstons	41. The Church	56. The Church	71. The Church
27. St. Dunstons	42. The Church	57. The Church	72. The Church
28. St. Dunstons	43. The Church	58. The Church	73. The Church
29. St. Dunstons	44. The Church	59. The Church	74. The Church
30. St. Dunstons	45. The Church	60. The Church	75. The Church
31. St. Dunstons	46. The Church	61. The Church	76. The Church
32. St. Dunstons	47. The Church	62. The Church	77. The Church
33. St. Dunstons	48. The Church	63. The Church	78. The Church
34. St. Dunstons	49. The Church	64. The Church	79. The Church
35. St. Dunstons	50. The Church	65. The Church	80. The Church
36. St. Dunstons	51. The Church	66. The Church	81. The Church
37. St. Dunstons	52. The Church	67. The Church	82. The Church
38. St. Dunstons	53. The Church	68. The Church	83. The Church
39. St. Dunstons	54. The Church	69. The Church	84. The Church
40. St. Dunstons	55. The Church	70. The Church	85. The Church
41. St. Dunstons	56. The Church	71. The Church	86. The Church
42. St. Dunstons	57. The Church	72. The Church	87. The Church
43. St. Dunstons	58. The Church	73. The Church	88. The Church
44. St. Dunstons	59. The Church	74. The Church	89. The Church
45. St. Dunstons	60. The Church	75. The Church	90. The Church
46. St. Dunstons	61. The Church	76. The Church	91. The Church
47. St. Dunstons	62. The Church	77. The Church	92. The Church
48. St. Dunstons	63. The Church	78. The Church	93. The Church
49. St. Dunstons	64. The Church	79. The Church	94. The Church
50. St. Dunstons	65. The Church	80. The Church	95. The Church
51. St. Dunstons	66. The Church	81. The Church	96. The Church
52. St. Dunstons	67. The Church	82. The Church	97. The Church
53. St. Dunstons	68. The Church	83. The Church	98. The Church
54. St. Dunstons	69. The Church	84. The Church	99. The Church
55. St. Dunstons	70. The Church	85. The Church	100. The Church

A VIEW OF LONDON BEFORE THE FIRE

the late King)<sup>1</sup> now rent in pieces, flakes of vast stone split asunder, and nothing remaining entire but the inscription in the architrave, showing by whom it was built, which had not one letter of it defaced! It was astonishing to see what immense stones the heat had in a manner calcined, so that all the ornaments, columns, friezes, capitals, and projectures of massy Portland stone, flew off, even to the very roof, where a sheet of lead covering a great space (no less than six acres by measure) was totally melted. The ruins of the vaulted roof falling, broke into St. Faith's, which being filled with the magazines of books belonging to the Stationers, and carried thither for safety, they were all consumed, burning for a week following. It is also observable that the lead over the altar at the east end was untouched, and among the divers monuments the body of one bishop remained entire. Thus lay in ashes that most venerable church, one of the most ancient pieces of early piety in the Christian world, besides near one hundred more. The lead, iron-work, bells, plate, etc., melted, the exquisitely wrought Mercers' Chapel, the sumptuous Exchange, the august fabric of Christ Church, all the rest of the Companies' Halls, splendid buildings, arches, entries, all in dust; the fountains dried up and ruined, whilst the very waters remained boiling; the voragos of subterranean cellars, wells, and dungeons, formerly warehouses, still burning in stench and dark clouds of smoke; so that in five or six miles traversing about I did not see one load of timber unconsumed, nor many stones but what were calcined white as snow.

The people, who now walked about the ruins,

<sup>1</sup> [Inigo Jones's classic portico, 200 feet long, 40 feet high, and 50 feet deep, which was an instalment of the new St. Paul's contemplated by Charles I.]

appeared like men in some dismal desert, or rather, in some great city laid waste by a cruel enemy ; to which was added the stench that came from some poor creatures' bodies, beds, and other combustible goods. Sir Thomas Gresham's statue, though fallen from its niche in the Royal Exchange, remained entire, when all those of the Kings since the Conquest were broken to pieces. Also the standard in Cornhill, and Queen Elizabeth's effigies, with some arms on Ludgate, continued with but little detriment, whilst the vast iron chains of the City-streets, hinges, bars, and gates of prisons, were many of them melted and reduced to cinders by the vehement heat. Nor was I yet able to pass through any of the narrow streets, but kept the widest ; the ground and air, smoke and fiery vapour, continued so intense, that my hair was almost singed, and my feet unsufferably surbated.<sup>1</sup> The by-lanes and narrow streets were quite filled up with rubbish ; nor could one have possibly known where he was, but by the ruins of some Church, or Hall, that had some remarkable tower, or pinnacle remaining.

I then went towards Islington and Highgate, where one might have seen 200,000 people of all ranks and degrees dispersed, and lying along by their heaps of what they could save from the fire, deploring their loss ; and, though ready to perish for hunger and destitution, yet not asking one penny for relief, which to me appeared a stranger sight than any I had yet beheld. His Majesty and Council indeed took all imaginable care for their relief, by proclamation for the country to come in, and refresh them with provisions.

In the midst of all this calamity and confusion, there was, I know not how, an alarm begun that the French and Dutch, with whom we were now

<sup>1</sup> [Worn and bruised,—a farrier's word.]



in hostility, were not only landed, but even entering the City. There was, in truth, some days before, great suspicion of those two nations joining; and now that they had been the occasion of firing the town. This report did so terrify, that on a sudden there was such an uproar and tumult that they run from their goods, and, taking what weapons they could come at, they could not be stopped from falling on some of those nations whom they casually met, without sense or reason. The clamour and peril grew so excessive, that it made the whole Court amazed, and they did with infinite pains and great difficulty, reduce and appease the people, sending troops of soldiers and guards, to cause them to retire into the fields again, where they were watched all this night. I left them pretty quiet, and came home sufficiently weary and broken. Their spirits thus a little calmed, and the affright abated, they now began to repair into the suburbs about the City, where such as had friends, or opportunity, got shelter for the present; to which his Majesty's proclamation also invited them.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Subjoined is the Ordinance to which Evelyn alludes, as reprinted by Bray from the original half-sheet in black letter:

CHARLES R.

His Majesty in his princely compassion and very tender care, taking into consideration the distressed condition of many of his good subjects, whom the late dreadful and dismal fire hath made destitute of habitations, and exposed to many exigencies and necessities; for present remedy and redresse whereof, his Majesty intending to give further testimony and evidences of his grace and favour towards them, as occasion shall arise, hath thought fit to declare and publish his royal pleasure. That as great proportions of bread and all other provisions as can possibly be furnished, shall be daily and constantly brought, not onely to the markets formerly in use, but also to such markets as by his Majesties late order and declaration to the Lord Mayor and Sherifs of London and Middlesex have been appointed and ordained, viz. Clerkenwell, Islington, Finsbury-fields, Mile-end Green, and Ratclif; his Majesty being sensible that this will be for the benefit also of the towns and places adjoining, as being the best expedient to prevent the resort of such persons thereunto as may pilfer and disturb them. And whereas also divers of the said distressed persons have

Still, the plague continuing in our parish, I could not, without danger, adventure to our church.

10th September. I went again to the ruins; for it was now no longer a city.

18th. I presented his Majesty with a survey of the ruins, and a plot for a new City,<sup>1</sup> with

saved and preserved their goods, which nevertheless they know not how to dispose of, it is his Majesties pleasure, that all Churches, Chapels, Schools, and other like publick places, shall be free and open to receive the said goods, when they shall be brought to be there laid. And all Justices of the Peace within the severall Counties of Middlesex, Essex, and Surrey, are to see the same to be done accordingly. And likewise that all cities and towns whatsoever shall without any contradiction receive the said distressed persons, and permit them to the free exercise of their manual trades; his Majesty resolving and promising, that when the present exigent shall be passed over, he will take such care and order, that the said persons shall be no burthen to their towns, or parishes. And it is his Majesties pleasure, that this his declaration be forthwith published, not only by the Sherifs of London and Middlesex, but also by all other Sherifs, Mayors, and other chief officers, in their respective precincts and limits, and by the constables in every parish. And of this his Majesties pleasure all persons concerned are to take notice, and thereunto to give due obedience to the utmost of their power, as they will answer the contrary at their peril. Given at our Court at Whitehall, the fifth day of September, in the eighteenth year of our reign, one thousand six hundred sixty-six. God save the King.

<sup>1</sup> Evelyn has preserved his letter to Sir Samuel Tuke, on the subject of the fire, and his scheme for re-building the City. Part of his plan was to lessen the declivities, and to employ the rubbish in filling up the shore of the Thames to low-water mark, so as to keep the basin always full. In another letter to Mr. Oldenburg, Secretary to the Royal Society, dated 22nd December, 1666, he says, after mentioning his having presented his reflections on rebuilding the City to his Majesty, that "the want of a more exact plot, wherein I might have marked what the fire had spared, and accommodated my designe to the remaining parts, made me take it as a *rasa tabula*, and to forme mine idea thereof accordingly: I have since lighted upon Mr. Hollar's late plan, which looking upon as the most accurate hitherto extant, has caus'd me something to alter what I had so crudely don, though for the most part I still persist in my former discourse, and wiche I here send you as compleate as an imperfect copy will give me leave, and the suppliment of an ill memory, for since that tyme I hardly ever looked on it, and it was finish'd within two or three dayes after the Incendium." The plans were afterwards printed by the Society of Antiquaries, and have been

a discourse on it; whereupon, after dinner, his Majesty sent for me into the Queen's bedchamber, her Majesty and the Duke only being present. They examined each particular, and discoursed on them for near an hour, seeming to be extremely pleased with what I had so early thought on. The Queen was now in her cavalier riding-habit, hat and feather, and horseman's coat, going to take the air.

*16th September.* I went to Greenwich Church, where Mr. Plume preached very well from this text: "Seeing therefore all these things shall be dissolved," etc.: taking occasion from the late unparalleled conflagration to mind us how we ought to walk more holy in all manner of conversation.

*27th.* Dined at Sir William D'Oyly's,<sup>1</sup> with that worthy gentleman, Sir John Holland, of Suffolk.

*10th October.* This day was ordered a general Fast through the Nation, to humble us on the late dreadful conflagration, added to the plague and war, the most dismal judgments that could be inflicted; but which indeed we highly deserved for our prodigious ingratitude, burning lusts, dissolute court, profane and abominable lives, under such dispensations of God's continued favour in restoring Church, Prince, and people from our late intestine calamities, of which we were altogether unmindful, even to astonishment. This made me resolve to go to our parish assembly, where our Doctor preached on Luke xix. 41: piously applying it to the occasion. After which, was a collection for the distressed losers in the late fire.

engraved in different histories of London. [That by Hollar above referred to must have been the "Map or Ground Plott of the City of London, with the Suburbs thereof . . . by which is exactly demonstrated the present condition since the last sad accident by fire; . . . W. Hollar, f. 1666. *Cum Privilegio Regis.*"]

<sup>1</sup> [See *ante*, p. 218.]

18th October. To Court. It being the first time his Majesty put himself solemnly into the Eastern fashion of vest, changing doublet, stiff collar, bands and cloak, into a comely dress, after the Persian mode, with girdles or straps, and shoe-strings and garters into buckles, of which some were set with precious stones,<sup>1</sup> resolving never to alter it, and to leave the French mode, which had hitherto obtained to our great expense and reproach. Upon which, divers courtiers and gentlemen gave his Majesty gold by way of wager that he would not persist in this resolution. I had sometime before presented an invective against that unconstancy, and our so much affecting the French fashion, to his Majesty; in which I took occasion to describe the comeliness and usefulness of the Persian clothing, in the very same manner his Majesty now clad himself. This pamphlet I entitled *Tyrannus, or the Mode*, and gave it to the King to read.<sup>2</sup> I

<sup>1</sup> [Rugge, in his *Diurnal*, thus describes this new costume:—"1666, October 11. In this month His Majestie and whole Court changed the fashion of their clothes—viz., a close coat of cloth, pinkt with a white taffety under the cutts. This in length reached the calf of the leg, and upon that a sercoat cutt at the breast, which hung loose and shorter than the vest six inches. The breeches the Spanish cut, and buskins some of cloth, some of leather, but of the same colour as the vest or garment; of never the like fashion since William the Conqueror." There is no portrait of Charles II. so accoutred; but the dress is shown in a picture by Lely of Lord Arlington engraved in Lodge's *Illustrious Persons*. Pepys says (22nd November, 1666) that Louis XIV., "in defiance to the King of England, caused all his footmen to be put into vests,"—an ingenious insult, which Steele perhaps remembered in his pleasant fable of "Brunetta and Phillis" (*Spectator*, No. 80). In any case, the Persian costume was soon abandoned.]

<sup>2</sup> [*Tyrannus, or the Mode; in a Discourse of Sumptuary Lawes*, had been issued five years before, in 1661. It is reprinted at pp. 308-20 of vol. i. of Evelyn's *Memoirs*, 1819, from a first edition corrected by the author for republication; and in a final MS. note added by Evelyn, he connects it with the above innovation as follows:—"Note.—that this was publish'd 2 [?] years

do not impute to this discourse the change which soon happened, but it was an identity that I could not but take notice of.

This night was acted my Lord Broghill's<sup>1</sup> tragedy, called *Mustapha*, before their Majesties at Court, at which I was present; very seldom going to the public theatres for many reasons now, as they were abused to an atheistical liberty; foul and undecent women now (and never till now) permitted to appear and act, who inflaming several young noblemen and gallants, became their misses, and to some, their wives. Witness the Earl of Oxford,<sup>2</sup> Sir R. Howard,<sup>3</sup> Prince Rupert, the Earl of Dorset, and another greater person than any of them, who fell into their snares, to the reproach of their noble families, and ruin of both body and soul.<sup>4</sup> I was invited by my Lord Chamberlain to see this tragedy, exceedingly well written, though in my mind I did not approve of any such pastime in a time of such judgments and calamities.

21st October. This season, after so long and

before the Vest, Cravett, Garters & Boucles came to be the fashion, & therefore might haply give occasion to the change that ensued in those very particulars." The Persian costume, however, is not specifically described in *Tyrannus*; and it must have been admired in England long before (see Appendix I. vol. i. p. 354).]

<sup>1</sup> See *ante*, p. 226. Roger Lord Broghill, 1621-79, was created shortly after this, Earl of Orrery: he wrote several other plays besides that here noticed.

<sup>2</sup> [See *ante*, p. 181.]

<sup>3</sup> Sir Robert Howard, 1626-98, held the office of Auditor of the Exchequer; but was more celebrated as an author, having written comedies, tragedies, poems, histories, and translations.

<sup>4</sup> Among the principal offenders here aimed at were Mrs. Margaret Hughes, Mrs. Eleanor Gwyn, Mrs. Davenport, Mrs. Uphill, and Mrs. Davis. Mrs. Davenport (Roxalana) was "my Lord Oxford's miss"; Mrs. Uphill was the actress alluded to in connection with Sir R. Howard, and Mrs. Hughes ensnared Prince Rupert. Nell Gwyn and Mary Davis fell to the "greater person" whom Evelyn cautiously indicates.

extraordinary a drought in August and September, as if preparatory for the dreadful fire, was so very wet and rainy as many feared an ensuing famine.

*28th October.* The pestilence, through God's mercy, began now to abate considerably in our town.

*30th.* To London to our office, and now had I on the vest and surcoat, or tunic, as it was called, after his Majesty had brought the whole court to it. It was a comely and manly habit, too good to hold, it being impossible for us in good earnest to leave the Monsieurs' vanities long.<sup>1</sup>

*31st.* I heard the signal cause of my Lord Cleveland<sup>2</sup> pleaded before the House of Lords; and was this day forty-six years of age, wonderfully protected by the mercies of God, for which I render him immortal thanks.

*14th November.* I went my winter-circle through my district, Rochester and other places, where I had men quartered, and in custody.

*15th.* To Leeds Castle.<sup>3</sup>

*16th.* I mustered the prisoners, being about 600 Dutch and French, ordered their proportion of bread to be augmented, and provided clothes and fuel. Monsieur Colbert,<sup>4</sup> Ambassador at the Court of England, this day sent money from his master, the French King, to every prisoner of that nation under my guard.

*17th.* I returned to Chatham, my chariot overturning on the steep of Bexley Hill, wounded me in two places on the head; my son, Jack, being with me, was like to have been worse cut by the

<sup>1</sup> [See *ante*, p. 262.]

<sup>2</sup> Thomas Wentworth, 1591-1667, created in February, 1627, Baron Wentworth of Nettlestead, and Earl of Cleveland.

<sup>3</sup> [See *ante*, p. 236.]

<sup>4</sup> [Charles Colbert, Marquis de Croissy, 1625-96, a brother of Louis the Fourteenth's famous Minister and Financier, Jean-Baptiste Colbert.]

glass; but I thank God we both escaped without much hurt, though not without exceeding danger.—18th. At Rochester.—19th. Returned home.

23rd November. At London, I heard an extraordinary case before a Committee of the whole House of Commons, in the Commons' House of Parliament, between one Captain Taylor and my Lord Viscount Mordaunt,<sup>1</sup> where, after the lawyers had pleaded and the witnesses been examined, such foul and dishonourable things were produced against his Lordship, of tyranny during his government of Windsor Castle, of which he was Constable, incontinence, and suborning witnesses (of which last, one Sir Richard Breames was most concerned), that I was exceedingly interested for his Lordship, who was my special friend, and husband of the most virtuous lady in the world. We sat till near ten at night, and yet but half the Counsel had done on behalf of the Plaintiff. The question then was put for bringing-in of lights to sit longer. This lasted so long before it was determined, and raised such a confused noise among the Members, that a stranger would have been astonished at it. I admire that there is not a rationale to regulate such trifling accidents, which consume much time, and is a reproach to the gravity of so great an assembly of sober men.

27th. Sir Hugh Pollard, Comptroller of the Household, died at Whitehall,<sup>2</sup> and his Majesty conferred the white staff on my brother Commissioner for sick and wounded, Sir Thomas Clifford,<sup>3</sup> a bold young gentleman, of a small fortune in

<sup>1</sup> See *ante*, p. 119. The whole proceedings in this affair are to be found in the Journals of Lords and Commons, under date of this year.

<sup>2</sup> [See *ante*, p. 197.]

<sup>3</sup> [See *ante*, p. 218.] Clifford was subsequently Comptroller, and Treasurer of the Household. He "do speak very well and neatly"—says Pepys.]

Devon, but advanced by Lord Arlington, Secretary of State, to the great astonishment of all the Court. This gentleman was somewhat related to me by the marriage of his mother to my nearest kinsman, Gregory Coale,<sup>1</sup> and was ever my noble friend, a valiant and daring person, but by no means fit for a supple and flattering courtier.

*28th November.* Went to see Clarendon House,<sup>2</sup> now almost finished, a goodly pile to see to, but had many defects as to the architecture, yet placed most gracefully. After this, I waited on the Lord Chancellor, who was now at Berkshire House,<sup>3</sup> since the burning of London.

*2nd December.* Dined with me Monsieur Kiviet,<sup>4</sup> a Dutch gentleman-pensioner of Rotterdam, who came over for protection, being of the Prince of Orange's party, now not welcome in Holland. The King knighted him for some merit in the Prince's behalf. He should, if caught, have been beheaded with Monsieur Buat, and was brother-in-law to Van Tromp, the sea-general. With him came Mr. Gabriel Sylvius,<sup>5</sup> and Mr. Williamson, secretary to Lord Arlington; <sup>6</sup> M. Kiviet came to

<sup>1</sup> Of this "nearest kinsman" and his family, seated at Petersham in Surrey, see Bray's *History*, i. 439, 441, but his precise connection or kinship with the Evelyns does not appear.

<sup>2</sup> [See *ante*, p. 214.]

<sup>3</sup> Berkshire or Cleveland House, St. James's, belonging to the Howards, Earls of Berkshire. It was purchased and presented by Charles II. to Barbara Duchess of Cleveland, and was then of great extent; she, however, afterwards sold part, which was divided into various houses. The name survives in Cleveland Court.

<sup>4</sup> [Sir John Kiviet. See *post*, under 6th March and 7th September, 1667. He is probably the "Kevet, Burgomaster of Amsterdam," mentioned by Pepys under 17th February, 1667, as arranging the Peace with Lord Arlington.]

<sup>5</sup> [See *post*, under 11th November, 1677.]

<sup>6</sup> See *ante*, p. 220. Pepys describes Williamson (6th February, 1663) as "a pretty knowing man and a scholar, but, it may be, thinks himself to be too much so."



examine whether the soil about the river of Thames would be proper to make clinker-bricks,<sup>1</sup> and to treat with me about some accommodation in order to it.

1666-7: *9th January*. To the Royal Society, which since the sad conflagration were invited by Mr. Howard<sup>2</sup> to sit at Arundel House in the Strand, who, at my instigation, likewise bestowed on the Society that noble library<sup>3</sup> which his grandfather especially, and his ancestors had collected. This gentleman had so little inclination to books, that it was the preservation of them from embezzlement.

*24th*. Visited my Lord Clarendon, and presented my son John, to him, now preparing to go to Oxford, of which his Lordship was Chancellor. This evening I heard rare Italian voices, two eunuchs and one woman, in his Majesty's green chamber, next his cabinet.

*29th*. To London, in order to my son's Oxford journey, who, being very early entered both in Latin and Greek, and prompt to learn beyond most of his age, I was persuaded to trust him under the tutorage of Mr. Bohun, Fellow of New College,<sup>4</sup> who had been his preceptor in my house some years before; but, at Oxford, under the inspection of Dr. Bathurst, President of Trinity College,<sup>5</sup> where I placed him, not as

<sup>1</sup> [See *ante*, p. 266.]

<sup>2</sup> [See *ante*, vol. i. p. 312; and *post*, under 19th September, 1667.]

<sup>3</sup> [See *post*, under March, 1669, and 29th August, 1678. Mr. Howard's grandfather, the second Earl of Arundel (see *ante*, vol. i. p. 22), had purchased many of the books during his embassy to Vienna in 1636. Part had come from the library collected at Buda in 1485 by Matthew Corvinus, King of Hungary, which, after his death in 1490, had passed into the possession of Dürer's friend, Bilibald Pirckheimer of Nuremberg.]

<sup>4</sup> [See *ante*, p. 233.]

<sup>5</sup> [See *ante*, p. 242.]

yet thirteen years old. He was newly out of long coats.<sup>1</sup>

15th February. My little book, in answer to Sir George Mackenzie<sup>2</sup> on Solitude, was now published, entitled *Public Employment, and an Active Life, and all its appanages, preferred to Solitude.*<sup>3</sup>

18th. I was present at a magnificent ball, or masque, in the theatre at the Court, where their Majesties and all the great lords and ladies danced, infinitely gallant, the men in their richly embroidered most becoming vests.<sup>4</sup>

19th. I saw a Comedy acted at Court. In the afternoon, I witnessed a wrestling match for £1000 in St. James's Park, before his Majesty, a vast assemblage of lords and other spectators, betwixt the western and northern men, Mr. Secretary Morice and Lord Gerard being the judges. The western men won. Many great sums were betted.

6th March. I proposed to my Lord Chancellor Monsieur Kiviet's undertaking to wharf the whole river of Thames, or quay, from the Temple to the Tower, as far as the fire destroyed, with brick, without piles, both lasting and ornamental.<sup>5</sup>—Great frosts, snow, and winds, prodigious at the vernal

<sup>1</sup> In illustration of the garb which succeeded the "long coats" out of which lads of twelve or thirteen were thus suffered to emerge, it may be mentioned that there once hung upon the walls of the Swan Inn at Leatherhead in Surrey, a picture of four children, dates of birth between 1640 and 1650, of whom a lad of about the age of young Evelyn is represented in a coat reaching to his ankles.

<sup>2</sup> Sir George Mackenzie of Rosehaugh, 1636-91, King's advocate, who wrote several works on the Scottish laws, and various essays and poetical pieces (see *post*, under 9th March, 1690).

<sup>3</sup> Reprinted in *Miscellaneous Writings*, pp. 501-552. In a letter to Cowley, 12th March, 1666-67, Evelyn apologises for having written against that life which he had joined with Mr. Cowley in so much admiring, assuring him he neither was nor could be serious in avowing such a preference. (See Appendix VI.)

<sup>4</sup> [See *ante*, p. 262.]

<sup>5</sup> [See *ante*, p. 267.]

equinox; indeed it had been a year of prodigies in this nation, plague, war, fire, rain, tempest and comet.

14th March. Saw *The Virgin-Queen*,<sup>1</sup> a play written by Mr. Dryden.

22nd. Dined at Mr. Secretary Morice's,<sup>2</sup> who showed me his library, which was a well-chosen collection. This afternoon, I had audience of his Majesty, concerning the proposal I had made of building the Quay.

26th. Sir John Kiviet dined with me. We went to search for brick-earth, in order to a great undertaking.<sup>3</sup>

4th April. The cold so intense, that there was hardly a leaf on a tree.

18th. I went to make court to the Duke and Duchess of Newcastle, at their house in Clerkenwell,<sup>4</sup> being newly come out of the north. They received me with great kindness, and I was much pleased with the extraordinary fanciful habit, garb, and discourse of the Duchess.

22nd. Saw the sumptuous supper in the Banqueting-house at Whitehall, on the eve of St. George's Day, where were all the companions of the Order of the Garter.

23rd. In the morning, his Majesty went to chapel with the Knights of the Garter, all in their habits and robes, ushered by the heralds; after the first service, they went in procession, the youngest first, the Sovereign last, with the Prelate

<sup>1</sup> The *Virgin Queen* which Evelyn saw was Dryden's *Maiden Queen*. Pepys saw it on the night of its first production (twelve days before Evelyn's visit); and was charmed by Nell Gwyn's Florimel. "So great performance of a comical part was never, I believe, in the world before" (21st March, 1667).

<sup>2</sup> [See *ante*, p. 174.]

<sup>3</sup> [See *ante*, p. 268.]

<sup>4</sup> [This, now non-existent, was the town house of William Cavendish, Earl, Marquis, and Duke of Newcastle, 1592-1676, and his second wife, Margaret Lucas, 1624-74 (see *post*, under 25th and 27th April). In 1667, the Duchess published a high-flown *Life* of her husband, of which a reprint was issued in 1872.]

of the Order and Dean, who had about his neck the book of the Statutes of the Order; and then the Chancellor of the Order (old Sir Henry de Vic),<sup>1</sup> who wore the purse about his neck; then the Heralds and Garter-King-at-Arms, Clarencieux, Black Rod. But before the Prelate and Dean of Windsor went the gentlemen of the chapel and choristers, singing as they marched; behind them two doctors of music in damask robes; this procession was about the courts at Whitehall. Then, returning to their stalls and seats in the chapel, placed under each knight's coat-armour and titles, the second service began. Then, the King offered at the altar, an anthem was sung; then, the rest of the Knights offered, and lastly proceeded to the Banqueting-house to a great feast. The King sat on an elevated throne at the upper end at a table alone; the Knights at a table on the right hand, reaching all the length of the room; over-against them a cupboard of rich gilded plate; at the lower end, the music; on the balusters above, wind-music, trumpets, and kettle-drums. The King was served by the lords and pensioners who brought up the dishes. About the middle of the dinner, the Knights drank the King's health, then the King theirs, when the trumpets and music played and sounded, the guns going off at the Tower. At the Banquet, came in the Queen, and stood by the King's left hand, but did not sit. Then was the banqueting-stuff flung about the room profusely. In truth, the crowd was so great, that though I stayed all the supper the day before, I now stayed no longer than this sport began, for fear of disorder. The cheer was extraordinary, each Knight having forty dishes to his mess, piled up five or six high; the room hung with the richest tapestry.

<sup>1</sup> [See *ante*, vol. i. p. 56.]

*25th April.* Visited again the Duke of Newcastle, with whom I had been acquainted long before in France, where the Duchess had obligation to my wife's mother for her marriage there; she was sister to Lord Lucas,<sup>1</sup> and maid of honour then to the Queen-Mother; married in our chapel at Paris.<sup>2</sup> My wife being with me, the Duke and Duchess both would needs bring her to the very Court.

*26th.* My Lord Chancellor showed me all his newly finished and furnished palace and library; then, we went to take the air in Hyde Park.

*27th.* I had a great deal of discourse with his Majesty at dinner. In the afternoon, I went again with my wife to the Duchess of Newcastle, who received her in a kind of transport, suitable to her extravagant humour and dress, which was very singular.<sup>3</sup>

*8th May.* Made up accounts with our Receiver, which amounted to £33,936 : 1 : 4. Dined at Lord Cornbury's, with Don Francisco de Melos, Portugal

<sup>1</sup> [Sir Charles Lucas, shot by Ireton at Colchester in 1648.]

<sup>2</sup> [In April, 1645.]

<sup>3</sup> [See *ante*, p. 269. Mrs. Evelyn has left an unvarnished account of this visit in a letter to Dr. Bohun in 1667. "I was surprised"—she says—"to find so much extravagancy and vanity in any person not confined within four walls. Her [the Duchess's] habit particular, fantastical, not unbecoming a good shape, which she may truly boast of. Her face discovers the facility of the sex, in being yet persuaded it deserves the esteem years forbid, by the infinite care she takes to place her curls and patches. Her mien surpasses the imagination of poets, or the descriptions of a romance heroine's greatness; her gracious bows, seasonable nods, courteous stretching out of her hands, twinkling of her eyes, and various gestures of approbation, show what may be expected from her discourse, which is as airy, empty, whimsical and rambling as her books, aiming at science, difficulties, high notions, terminating commonly in nonsense, oaths, and obscenity." Mrs. Evelyn paints a full-length; but a kit-cat is enough, and justifies Pepys' briefer report of 18th March, 1668, that the Duchess was "a mad, conceited, ridiculous woman."]

Ambassador, and kindred to the Queen: of the party were Mr. Henry Jermyn,<sup>1</sup> and Sir Henry Capel.<sup>2</sup> Afterwards I went to Arundel House, to salute Mr. Howard's sons, newly returned out of France.

*11th May.* To London; dined with the Duke of Newcastle, and sat discoursing with her Grace in her bedchamber after dinner, till my Lord Marquis of Dorchester with other company came in, when I went away.

*30th.* To London, to wait on the Duchess of Newcastle (who was a mighty pretender to learning, poetry, and philosophy, and had in both published divers books) to the Royal Society, whither she came in great pomp, and being received by our Lord President at the door of our meeting-room, the mace, etc., carried before him, had several experiments showed to her. I conducted her Grace to her coach, and returned home.<sup>3</sup>

*1st June.* I went to Greenwich, where his Majesty was trying divers grenadoes shot out of cannon at the Castlehill, from the house in the Park; they brake not till they hit the mark, the forged ones brake not at all, but the cast ones very well. The inventor was a German there present. At the same time, a ring was showed to the King, pretended to be a projection of mercury, and malleable, and said by the gentlemen to be fixed by the juice of a plant.

*8th.* To London, alarmed by the Dutch, who were fallen on our fleet at Chatham, by a most audacious enterprise entering the very river with

<sup>1</sup> Afterwards, 1685, Baron Jermyn of Dover.

<sup>2</sup> Afterwards, 1692, Baron Capel of Tewkesbury, and Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland. He died 1696.

<sup>3</sup> [Pepys also gives an account of this visit, under the same date. The Society was not without apprehension that the town would be "full of ballads" about the honour done them.]

part of their fleet, doing us not only disgrace, but incredible mischief in burning several of our best men-of-war lying at anchor and moored there, and all this through our unaccountable negligence in not setting out our fleet in due time.<sup>1</sup> This alarm caused me, fearing the enemy might venture up the Thames even to London (which they might have done with ease, and fired all the vessels in the river, too), to send away my best goods, plate, etc., from my house to another place. The alarm was so great that it put both Country and City into a panic, fear and consternation, such as I hope I shall never see more; everybody was flying, none knew why or whither. Now, there were land-forces despatched with the Duke of Albemarle, Lord Middleton,<sup>2</sup> Prince Rupert, and the

<sup>1</sup> [This was the Chatham disaster. In June sixty-one Dutch men-of-war under De Ruyter entered the Thames, destroyed the unfinished fort at Sheerness (June 11), and sailed up the Medway, breaking the chain at Gillingham. At Chatham they burned three ships (see *post*, p. 275), and captured the *Royal Charles*, formerly the *Naseby*, which, after fighting the battles of the Commonwealth, had been despatched to Scheveling in May, 1660, to bring Charles II. to Dover. Peter Pett (see *ante*, p. 204) was made the scapegoat upon this occasion:—

After this loss, to relish discontent,  
Some one must be accused by Parliament;  
All our miscarriages on Pett must fall,  
His name alone seems fit to answer all.

Thus, and at greater length, sings Andrew Marvell in his *Last Instructions to a Painter about the Dutch Wars*, 1667, ll. 717-20. The Commons threatened to impeach Pett for carelessness, and he was superseded; but it was well known that the real fault lay with the King. In the Museum at Amsterdam is a picture by Jan Pieters commemorating the Dutch success.]

<sup>2</sup> John Middleton, 1619-74, was first a Parliamentary general, but subsequently fought for Charles II. at Worcester, and otherwise distinguished himself as a Royalist officer till the Restoration, when he was created first Earl of Middleton. He was Commander-in-Chief of the Forces in Scotland, Governor of Edinburgh Castle, Lord High Commissioner to the Scottish Parliament, and finally Governor of Tangier, where he died.

Duke, to hinder the Dutch coming to Chatham, fortifying Upnor Castle, and laying chains and bombs; but the resolute enemy brake through all, and set fire on our ships, and retreated in spite, stopping up the Thames, the rest of the fleet lying before the mouth of it.

*14th June.* I went to see the work at Woolwich, a battery to prevent them coming up to London, which Prince Rupert commanded, and sunk some ships in the river.

*17th.* This night, about two o'clock, some chips and combustible matter prepared for some fire-ships, taking flame in Deptford-yard, made such a blaze, and caused such an uproar in the Tower (it being given out that the Dutch fleet was come up, and had landed their men and fired the Tower), as had like to have done more mischief before people would be persuaded to the contrary and believe the accident. Everybody went to their arms. These were sad and troublesome times.

*24th.* The Dutch fleet still continuing to stop up the river, so as nothing could stir out or come in, I was before the Council, and commanded by his Majesty to go with some others and search about the environs of the city, now exceedingly distressed for want of fuel, whether there could be any peat, or turf, found fit for use. The next day, I went and discovered enough, and made my report that there might be found a great deal; but nothing further was done in it.

*28th.* I went to Chatham, and thence to view not only what mischief the Dutch had done; but how triumphantly their whole fleet lay within the very mouth of the Thames, all from the North Foreland, Margate, even to the Buoy of the Nore—a dreadful spectacle as ever Englishmen saw, and a dishonour never to be wiped off! Those



who advised his Majesty to prepare no fleet this spring deserved—I know what—but<sup>1</sup>—

Here in the river off Chatham, just before the town, lay the carcase of the *London* (now the third time burnt), the *Royal Oak*, the *James*, etc., yet smoking;<sup>2</sup> and now, when the mischief was done, we were making trifling forts on the brink of the river. Here were yet forces, both of horse and foot, with General Middleton continually expecting the motions of the enemy's fleet. I had much discourse with him, who was an experienced commander. I told him I wondered the King did not fortify Sheerness<sup>3</sup> and the Ferry; both abandoned.

*2nd July.* Called upon by my Lord Arlington, as from his Majesty, about the new fuel. The occasion why I was mentioned, was from what I said in my *Sylva* three years before,<sup>4</sup> about a sort of fuel for a need, which obstructed a patent of Lord Carlingford,<sup>5</sup> who had been seeking for it himself; he was endeavouring to bring me into the project, and proffered me a share. I met my Lord; and, on the 9th, by an order of Council, went to my Lord Mayor, to be assisting. In the meantime

<sup>1</sup> According to the *Life of King James the Second*, 1816, i. 425, these advisers were "the Lord Chancellor, the Lord Treasurer Southampton, the Duke of Albemarle, and the other Ministers." They "perswaded the King upon pretence of saving charges, to lay up the first and Second Rate of Ships, and to send out such only as were most proper to interrupt the Enemy's Trade, and only to make a defensive war." The Duke of York opposed these measures; but he was overruled. (See also p. 277.)

<sup>2</sup> [Each doleful day still with fresh loss returns,  
The *Loyal London* now a third time burns,  
And the true *Royal Oak* and *Royal James*,  
Allied in fate, increase with theirs her flames.

MARVELL, *ut supra*.]

<sup>3</sup> Since done.—*Evelyn's Note*.

<sup>4</sup> [*Sylva*, 1664, Bk. iii. ch. iv., "Of Timber, the Seasoning and Uses, and Fuel."]

<sup>5</sup> Theobald Taaffe, second Viscount Taaffe, created Earl of Carlingford in 1662, *d.* 1677.

they had made an experiment of my receipt of *houllies*, which I mention in my book to be made at Maestricht, with a mixture of charcoal dust and loam, and which was tried with success at Gresham College (then being the exchange for the meeting of the merchants since the fire) for everybody to see. This done, I went to the Treasury for £12,000 for the sick and wounded yet on my hands.

Next day, we met again about the fuel at Sir J. Armorer's in the Mews.

8th July. My Lord Brereton and others dined at my house, where I showed them proof of my new fuel, which was very glowing, and without smoke or ill smell.

10th. I went to see Sir Samuel Morland's<sup>1</sup> inventions and machines, arithmetical wheels, quench-fires, and new harp.

17th. The Master of the Mint and his lady, Mr. Williamson, Sir Nicholas Armorer,<sup>2</sup> Sir Edward

<sup>1</sup> Aubrey (in his account of Surrey, vol. i. p. 12) says: "Under the equestrian Statue of Charles II., in the great Court at Windsor, is an engine for raising water, contrived by Sir Samuel Morland, *alias* Morley [1625-95]. He was son of Sir Samuel Morland, of Sulhamsted Bannister, Berks, created Baronet by Charles II., in consideration of services performed during his exile. The son was a great mechanic, and was presented with a gold medal, and made *Magister Mechanicorum* by the King, in 1681. He invented the drum capstands, for weighing heavy anchors: the speaking trumpet and other useful engines. He died and was buried at Hammersmith, 1696. There is a monument for the two wives of Sir Samuel Morland in Westminster Abbey. There is a print of the son, by Lombart, after Lely. This Sir Samuel, the son, built a large room in his garden at Vauxhall, which was much admired at that time. On the top was a punchinello, holding a dial."

<sup>2</sup> Sir Nicholas (a different person from Sir James) Armorer was Equerry to Charles II. Pepys, under 23rd September, 1667, tells a curious anecdote of his inducing the King to drink the Duke of York's health on his knees. The Queen of Bohemia talks of him familiarly in her letters as Nick Armourer.

Bowyer, Sir Anthony Auger, and other friends dined with me.

*29th July.* I went to Gravesend ; the Dutch fleet still at anchor before the river, where I saw five of his Majesty's men-at-war encounter above twenty of the Dutch, in the bottom of the Hope, chasing them with many broadsides given and returned towards the buoy of the Nore, where the body of their fleet lay, which lasted till about midnight. One of their ships was fired, supposed by themselves, she being run on ground. Having seen this bold action, and their braving us so far up the river, I went home the next day, not without indignation at our negligence, and the nation's reproach. It is well known who of the Commissioners of the Treasury gave advice that the charge of setting forth a fleet this year might be spared, Sir W. C. (William Coventry) by name.<sup>1</sup>

*1st August.* I received the sad news of Abraham Cowley's death,<sup>2</sup> that incomparable poet and virtuous man, my very dear friend, and was greatly deplored.

*3rd.* Went to Mr. Cowley's funeral, whose corpse lay at Wallingford House,<sup>3</sup> and was thence conveyed to Westminster Abbey in a hearse with six horses and all funeral decency, near a hundred coaches of noblemen and persons of quality following ; among these, all the wits of the town, divers bishops and clergymen. He was interred next Geoffrey Chaucer, and near Spenser. A goodly monument is since erected to his memory.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> [See *ante*, p. 18.]

<sup>2</sup> [28th July, 1667.]

<sup>3</sup> [On the site of the Admiralty, and occupied at this date by the poet's friend and brother collegian, the second Duke of Buckingham.]

<sup>4</sup> [At the cost of the Duke of Buckingham, with an epitaph by Bishop Sprat, who wrote Cowley's Life.]

Now did his Majesty again dine in the presence, in ancient state, with music and all the court-ceremonies, which had been interrupted since the late war.

8th August. Visited Mr. Oldenburg, a close prisoner in the Tower, being suspected of writing intelligence. I had an order from Lord Arlington, Secretary of State, which caused me to be admitted. This gentleman was secretary to our Society, and I am confident will prove an innocent person.<sup>1</sup>

15th. Finished my account, amounting to £25,000.

17th. To the funeral of Mr. Farrington, a relation of my wife's.

There was now a very gallant horse to be baited to death with dogs; but he fought them all, so as the fiercest of them could not fasten on him, till the men run him through with their swords. This wicked and barbarous sport deserved to have been punished in the cruel contrivers to get money, under pretence that the horse had killed a man, which was false. I would not be persuaded to be a spectator.

21st. Saw the famous Italian puppet-play,<sup>2</sup> for it was no other.

24th. I was appointed, with the rest of my brother Commissioners, to put in execution an order of Council for freeing the prisoners-at-war in my custody at Leeds Castle, and taking off his Majesty's extraordinary charge, having called before us the French and Dutch agents. The Peace was

<sup>1</sup> Henry Oldenburg, 1615-77, Secretary to the Royal Society, 1663-77. He was committed to the Tower, as Pepys informs us, "for writing news to a virtuoso in France" (25th June, 1667), but was shortly afterwards liberated.

<sup>2</sup> [Perhaps at Charing Cross, where, in this year, "y<sup>e</sup> Itallian popet player" had a Booth (*Overseers' Books of St. Martin in the Fields*, quoted in Cunningham's *London*).]

now proclaimed, in the usual form, by the heralds-at-arms.<sup>1</sup>

*25th August.* After evening service, I went to visit Mr. Vaughan,<sup>2</sup> who lay at Greenwich, a very wise and learned person, one of Mr. Selden's executors and intimate friends.

*27th.* Visited the Lord Chancellor, to whom his Majesty had sent for the seals a few days before;<sup>3</sup> I found him in his bedchamber, very sad. The Parliament had accused him, and he had enemies at Court, especially the buffoons and ladies of pleasure, because he thwarted some of them, and stood in their way; I could name some of the chief. The truth is, he made few friends during his grandeur among the royal sufferers, but advanced the old rebels. He was, however, though no considerable lawyer, one who kept up the form and substance of things in the nation with more solemnity than some would have had. He was my particular kind friend, on all occasions. The Cabal,<sup>4</sup> however, prevailed, and that party in Parliament. Great division at Court concerning him, and divers great persons interceding for him.

*28th.* I dined with my late Lord Chancellor, where also dined Mr. Ashburnham,<sup>5</sup> and Mr. W.

<sup>1</sup> [It had been concluded July 21. All prisoners were to be set free; and the Dutch agreed to lower their flag to British ships of war.]

<sup>2</sup> [John Vaughan, afterwards Sir John, 1603-74, and Chief Justice of the Common Pleas. He was active in the impeachment of Clarendon. Selden died 30th November, 1654.]

<sup>3</sup> [He was deprived of his office, August 30; impeached by the Commons, November 12; and retired to the Continent by the King's command, November 29. He died at Rouen in 1674, having employed the interim in writing his *History of the Rebellion* (see *ante*, p. 15).]

<sup>4</sup> [The new Ministry formed on the Chancellor's dismissal.]

<sup>5</sup> John Ashburnham, 1603-71, Groom of the Bedchamber to Charles I. and Charles II.

Legge,<sup>1</sup> of the Bedchamber ; his Lordship pretty well in heart, though now many of his friends and sycophants abandoned him.

In the afternoon, to the Lords Commissioners for money, and thence to the audience of a Russian Envoy in the Queen's presence-chamber, introduced with much state, the soldiers, pensioners, and guards in their order. His letters of credence brought by his secretary in a scarf of sarsenet, their vests sumptuous, much embroidered with pearls. He delivered his speech in the Russ language, but without the least action, or motion, of his body, which was immediately interpreted aloud by a German that spake good English : half of it consisted in repetition of the Czar's titles, which were very haughty and oriental : the substance of the rest was, that he was only sent to see the King and Queen, and know how they did, with much compliment and frothy language. Then, they kissed their Majesties' hands, and went as they came ; but their real errand was to get money.

*29th August.* We met at the Star-Chamber about exchange and release of prisoners.

*7th September.* Came Sir John Kiviet, to article with me about his brickwork.<sup>2</sup>

*18th.* Betwixt the hours of twelve and one, was born my second daughter, who was afterwards christened Elizabeth.<sup>3</sup>

*19th.* To London, with Mr. Henry Howard, of Norfolk,<sup>4</sup> of whom I obtained the gift of his

<sup>1</sup> Colonel William Legge, 1609-70, Treasurer and Superintendent of the Ordnance, Member for Southampton, and father of George Legge, first Lord Dartmouth. Pepys describes him as "a pleasant man, and that hath seen much of the world, and more of the Court." He was with Charles I. during the rebellion.

<sup>2</sup> See *ante*, pp. 268, 269.

<sup>3</sup> [She died in 1685 (see *post*, under 27th August, 1685).]

<sup>4</sup> [See *ante*, vol. i. p. 312.]

Arundelian Marbles, those celebrated and famous inscriptions Greek and Latin, gathered with so much cost and industry from Greece, by his illustrious grandfather, the magnificent Earl of Arundel, my noble friend whilst he lived. When I saw these precious monuments miserably neglected, and scattered up and down about the garden, and other parts of Arundel House, and how exceedingly the corrosive air of London impaired them, I procured him to bestow them on the University of Oxford. This he was pleased to grant me; and now gave me the key of the gallery, with leave to mark all those stones, urns, altars, etc., and whatever I found had inscriptions on them, that were not statues. This I did; and getting them removed and piled together, with those which were incrustured in the garden walls, I sent immediately letters to the Vice-Chancellor of what I had procured, and that if they esteemed it a service to the University (of which I had been a member), they should take order for their transportation.

This done, 21<sup>st</sup>, I accompanied Mr. Howard to his villa at Albury, where I designed for him the plot of his canal and garden, with a crypt<sup>1</sup> through the hill.

24<sup>th</sup> September. Returned to London, where I had orders to deliver the possession of Chelsea College (used as my prison during the war with Holland for such as were sent from the fleet to London) to our Society, as a gift of his Majesty our founder.

8<sup>th</sup> October. Came to dine with me Dr. Bathurst, Dean of Wells,<sup>2</sup> President of Trinity College, sent

<sup>1</sup> [The canal at Albury Park has been drained; but a part of the crypt, or "Pausilippe," remains (Murray's *Surrey*, 1898, p. 126). See also *post*, under 23<sup>rd</sup> September, 1670; and cf. an interesting paper in *Blackwood's Magazine* for August, 1888, p. 218, entitled "In a Garden of John Evelyn's."]

<sup>2</sup> [See *ante*, p. 242.]

by the Vice-Chancellor of Oxford, in the name both of him and the whole University, to thank me for procuring the inscriptions, and to receive my directions what was to be done to show their gratitude to Mr. Howard.

11th October. I went to see Lord Clarendon, late Lord Chancellor and greatest officer in England, in continual apprehension what the Parliament would determine concerning him.<sup>1</sup>

17th. Came Dr. Barlow,<sup>2</sup> Provost of Queen's College and Protobibliothecus of the Bodleian library, to take order about the transportation of the Marbles.

25th. There were delivered to me two letters from the Vice-Chancellor of Oxford, with the Decree of the Convocation, attested by the Public Notary, ordering four Doctors of Divinity and Law to acknowledge the obligation the University had to me for procuring the *Marmora Arundeliana*, which was solemnly done by Dr. Barlow, Dr. Jenkins,<sup>3</sup> Judge of the Admiralty, Dr. Lloyd<sup>4</sup> and Obadiah Walker,<sup>5</sup> of University College, who having made a large compliment from the University, delivered me the decree fairly written :

Gesta venerabili domo Convocationis Universitatis Oxon.; . . . 17. 1667. Quo die retulit ad Senatum Academicum Dominus Vicecancellarius, quantum Universitas deberet singulari benevolentiae Johannis Evelini Armigeri, qui pro eâ pietate quâ Almam Matrem prosequitur non solum Suasu et Consilio apud inclytum Heroem Henricum Howard, Ducis Norfolciæ hæredem, intercessit, ut Universitati pretiosissimum eruditæ antiquitatis thesaurum Marmorâ Arundeliana largiretur; sed egregius insuper in ijs colligendis asservandisq; navavit

<sup>1</sup> [See *ante*, p. 279.]

<sup>2</sup> [See *ante*, p. 77.]

<sup>3</sup> Afterwards Sir Leoline Jenkins, 1623-85, Secretary of State.

<sup>4</sup> [See *ante*, p. 44.]

<sup>5</sup> Subsequently, head of that College. See *ante*, p. 9; and *post*, under 8th July, 1675.



operam : Quapropter unanimi suffragio Venerabilis Domûs decretum est, ut eidem publicæ gratiæ per delegatos ad Honoratissimum Dominum Henricum Howard propediem mittendos solemniter reddantur.

Concordant superscripta cum originali collatione factâ per me Ben. Cooper, Notarium Publicum et Registarium Universitat. Oxon.

SIR,

We intend also a noble inscription, in which also honourable mention shall be made of yourself; but Mr. Vice-Chancellor commands me to tell you that that was not sufficient for your merits; but, that if your occasions would permit you to come down at the Act (when we intend a dedication of our new Theatre), some other testimony should be given both of your own worth and affection to this your old Mother; for we are all very sensible this great addition of learning and reputation to the University is due as well to your industrious care for the University, and interest with my Lord Howard, as to his great nobleness and generosity of spirit.

I am, Sir, your most humble servant,  
OBADIAH WALKER, Univ. Coll.

The Vice-Chancellor's letter to the same effect were too vainglorious to insert, with divers copies of verses that were also sent me. Their mentioning me in the inscription I totally declined, when I directed the titles of Mr. Howard, now made Lord,<sup>1</sup> upon his Ambassage to Morocco.

These four doctors, having made me this compliment, desired me to carry and introduce them to Mr. Howard, at Arundel-House: which I did, Dr. Barlow (Provost of Queen's) after a short speech, delivering a larger letter of the University's thanks, which was written in Latin, expressing the great sense they had of the honour done them. After this compliment handsomely performed and as nobly received, Mr. Howard accompanied the

<sup>1</sup> [He was created Baron Howard of Castle Rising.]

Doctors to their coach. That evening, I supped with them.

26th October. My late Lord Chancellor was accused by Mr. Seymour in the House of Commons; and, in the evening, I returned home.

31st. My birthday—blessed be God for all his mercies! I made the Royal Society a present of the Table of Veins, Arteries, and Nerves, which great curiosity I had caused to be made in Italy, out of the natural human bodies, by a learned physician, and the help of Veslingius (professor at Padua), from whence I brought them in 1646.<sup>1</sup> For this I received the public thanks of the Society; and they are hanging up in their Repository with an inscription.

9th December. To visit the late Lord Chancellor.<sup>2</sup> I found him in his garden at his new-built palace, sitting in his gout wheel-chair, and seeing the gates setting up towards the north and the fields. He looked and spake very disconsolately. After some

<sup>1</sup> See *ante*, vol. i. p. 315. [A description of these tables (which were the work of Veslingius's assistant, Fabritius Bartoletus) was drawn up in 1702 by William Cowper (1666-1709) the surgeon, and read to the Royal Society. It is printed in the *Phil. Trans.* vol. xxiii. p. 1177 (No. 280), with the title, *An Account of several Schemes of Arteries and Veins, dissected from adult Human Bodies, and given to the Repository of the Royal Society by John Evelyn, Esq., F.R.S.* (see *post*, under 21st January, 1702). The Tables are now in the British Museum. A manuscript account of them, drawn up by Evelyn himself for Mr. Cowper, was in the collection of Mr. Alfred Huth.]

<sup>2</sup> This entry of the 9th December, 1667, is a mistake. Evelyn could not have visited the "late Lord Chancellor" on that day. Lord Clarendon fled on Saturday, the 29th of November, 1667, and his letter resigning the Chancellorship of the University of Oxford is dated from Calais on the 7th of December. That Evelyn's book is not, in every respect, strictly a diary, is shown by this and several similar passages. If the entry of the 18th of September, 1683, is correct, the date of Evelyn's last visit to Lord Clarendon was the 28th of November, 1667.

while deploring his condition to me, I took my leave. Next morning,<sup>1</sup> I heard he was gone; though I am persuaded that, had he gone sooner, though but to Cornbury, and there lain quiet, it would have satisfied the Parliament. That which exasperated them was his presuming to stay and contest the accusation as long as it was possible: and they were on the point of sending him to the Tower.

*10th December.* I went to the funeral of Mrs. Heath,<sup>2</sup> wife of my worthy friend and schoolfellow.

*21st.* I saw one Carr pilloried at Charing-cross for a libel, which was burnt before him by the hangman.

*1667-8 : 8th January.* I saw deep and prodigious gaming at the Groom-Porter's, vast heaps of gold squandered away in a vain and profuse manner. This I looked on as a horrid vice, and unsuitable in a Christian Court.

*9th.* Went to see the revels at the Middle Temple, which is also an old riotous custom, and has relation neither to virtue nor policy.<sup>3</sup>

*10th.* To visit Mr. Povey, where were divers great Lords to see his well-contrived cellar, and other elegancies.<sup>4</sup>

*24th.* We went to stake out ground for building a college for the Royal Society at Arundel House, but did not finish it, which we shall repent of.

*4th February.* I saw the tragedy of *Horace* (written by the *virtuous* Mrs. Philips)<sup>5</sup> acted before

<sup>1</sup> [*I.e.* 29th November.]

<sup>2</sup> [See *ante*, p. 50.]

<sup>3</sup> [See *ante*, p. 180.]

<sup>4</sup> [See *ante*, pp. 199, 211; and *post*, under 29th February, 1676.]

<sup>5</sup> [Mrs. Katherine Philips (the "matchless Orinda"), 1631-64. Her *Horace* was (like Cotton's) a translation from Pierre Corneille, a fifth act being added by Denham. The Duke of Monmouth spoke the Prologue. Candid Mr. Pepys thought it "a silly tragedy" (19th January, 1669). By "*virtuous*," Evelyn seems only to have intended to accentuate the difference between the

their Majesties. Betwixt each act a masque and antique dance.<sup>1</sup> The excessive gallantry of the ladies was infinite, those especially on that . . . Castlemaine,<sup>2</sup> esteemed at £40,000 and more, far outshining the Queen.

*15th February.* I saw the audience of the Swedish Ambassador Count Donna, in great state in the Banqueting-house.

*8rd March.* Was launched at Deptford, that goodly vessel, *The Charles*. I was near his Majesty. She is longer than the *Sovereign*, and carries 110 brass cannon; she was built by old Shish, a plain

deceased author and the ladies of the audience. He wrote admirably of "Orinda" to Pepys in August, and Mrs. Evelyn also praises her to Dr. Bohun. There is an appreciation of her in Gosse's *Seventeenth Century Studies*, 3rd edition, 1897, pp. 229-258; and her poems are reprinted from the edition of 1678 in Prof. Saintsbury's *Caroline Poets*, 1905, pp. 485-612.]

<sup>1</sup> [Mrs. Evelyn calls this—"a farce and dance between every act, composed by Lacy, and played by him and Nell [Gwyn], which takes" (Letter to Mr. Tyrill, 10th February, 1669). But from the description of Pepys (19th January), this part of the performance must have been gross and stupid.]

<sup>2</sup> [This, and that on the following page, are Evelyn's first references to Barbara Villiers (afterwards Palmer), Countess of Castlemaine. She was born in 1641, her father being William Villiers, second Viscount Grandison, killed at Edgehill in 1643; and at this date (1668), she was seven-and-twenty. She had been married, at eighteen, to Roger Palmer, who was made Earl of Castlemaine in 1661. She had known Charles in Holland; and she was his mistress from the Restoration until she was supplanted by Mlle. de K roualle. She was created Duchess of Cleveland in 1670. She had six children by Charles,—three sons, the Dukes of Southampton, Grafton, and Northumberland, and three daughters. She afterwards married Beau Fielding, and died in 1709. Her picture by Lely (as Minerva!) is in William III.'s State Bedroom at Hampton Court; it has been drawn in less attractive colours by Gilbert Burnet:—"She was a woman of great beauty, but most enormously vicious and ravenous; foolish but imperious, very uneasy to the King, and always carrying on intrigues with other men, while yet she pretended she was jealous of him" (*History of His Own Time*, 1724, i. 94). There is a privately printed *Memoir* of her by the late G. Steinman Steinman of Croydon, 1871.]

honest carpenter, master-builder of this dock, but one who can give very little account of his art by discourse, and is hardly capable of reading,<sup>1</sup> yet of great ability in his calling. The family have been ship-carpenters in this yard above 800 years.<sup>2</sup>

*12th March.* Went to visit Sir John Cotton,<sup>3</sup> who had me into his library, full of good MSS. Greek and Latin, but most famous for those of the Saxon and English Antiquities, collected by his grandfather.

*2nd April.* To the Royal Society, where I subscribed 50,000 bricks, towards building a college. Amongst other libertine libels, there was one now printed and thrown about, a bold petition of the poor w——s to Lady Castlemaine.<sup>4</sup>

*9th.* To London, about finishing my grand account of the sick and wounded, and prisoners at war, amounting to above £84,000.

I heard Sir R. Howard impeach Sir William Penn,<sup>5</sup> in the House of Lords, for breaking bulk,

<sup>1</sup> [Jonas Shish, 1605-80, master shipwright at Deptford and Woolwich dockyards. He has a mural monument in St. Nicholas Church. See *post*, under 13th May, 1680.]

<sup>2</sup> [Pepys also assisted. "Down by water to Deptford, where the King, Queen, and Court are to see launched the new ship built by Mr. Shish, called the *Charles*. God send her better luck than the former!" (*Diary*, 3rd March, 1668). By the "former," he means the *Royal Charles*, captured by the Dutch in 1667 (see *ante*, p. 273). In the *Gazette* the new ship is called *Charles the Second*, and was to carry 106 guns.]

<sup>3</sup> [See *ante*, vol. i. p. 92.]

<sup>4</sup> Perhaps Mr. Evelyn knew the author—is Bray's note to this. ["I do hear (says Pepys) that my Lady Castlemaine is horribly vexed at the late libel,—the petition of the poor prostitutes about the town whose houses were pulled down the other day." Pepys thought it more severe than witty, and wonders "how it durst be printed and spread abroad, which shows that the times are loose, and come to a great disregard of the King, or Court, or Government" (*Diary*, 6th April, 1668).]

<sup>5</sup> Sir William Penn, 1621-70, father of the Founder of Pennsylvania, whom Evelyn in a subsequent page accuses of having published "a blasphemous book against the Deity of our

and taking away rich goods out of the East India prizes, formerly taken by Lord Sandwich.

28th April. To London, about the purchase of Ravensbourne Mills, and land around it, in Upper Deptford, of one Mr. Becher.

30th. We sealed the deeds in Sir Edward Thurland's<sup>1</sup> chambers in the Inner Temple. I pray God bless it to me, it being a dear pennyworth;<sup>2</sup> but the passion Sir R. Browne had for it, and that it was contiguous to our other grounds, engaged me!

18th May. Invited by that expert commander, Captain Cox, master of the lately built *Charles the Second*, now the best vessel of the fleet, designed for the Duke of York, I went to Erith, where we had a great dinner.

16th. Sir Richard Edgecombe, of Mount Edgecombe, by Plymouth, my relation, came to visit me; a very virtuous and worthy gentleman.

19th June. To a new play with several of my relations, *The Evening Lover*,<sup>3</sup> a foolish plot, and very profane; it afflicted me to see how the stage was degenerated and polluted by the licentious times.

2nd July. Sir Samuel Tuke, Bart.,<sup>4</sup> and the lady he had married this day, came and bedded at my house, many friends accompanying the bride.

blessed Lord" (*The Sandy Foundation Shaken*, 1668). Sir William Penn held the rank of Admiral, and had distinguished himself in the battle with the Dutch. He was Governor of Kinsale.

<sup>1</sup> [Sir Edward Thurland, 1606-83, afterwards Baron of the Exchequer.]

<sup>2</sup> [Bargain.]

<sup>3</sup> There is no play with this name extant; and though the latter might be but a second title (for Evelyn frequently mentions only one name of a play that has two), it is next to certain that he here means Dryden's comedy of *An Evening's Love, or, The Mock Astrologer*, which is indeed sufficiently licentious. It was produced and printed in 1668, when Evelyn appears to have seen it.

<sup>4</sup> See *ante*, p. 200.

*23rd July.* At the Royal Society, were presented divers *glossa petras*, and other natural curiosities, found in digging to build the fort at Sheerness. They were just the same as they bring from Malta, pretending them to be viper's teeth, whereas, in truth, they are of a shark, as we found by comparing them with one in our Repository.

*3rd August.* Mr. Bramston<sup>1</sup> (son to Judge B.), my old fellow-traveller, now Reader at the Middle Temple, invited me to his feast, which was so very extravagant and great as the like had not been seen at any time. There were the Duke of Ormonde, Privy Seal, Bedford, Belasyse,<sup>2</sup> Halifax, and a world more of Earls and Lords.

*14th.* His Majesty was pleased to grant me a lease of a slip of ground out of Brick Close, to enlarge my fore-court, for which I now gave him thanks; then, entering into other discourse, he talked to me of a new varnish for ships, instead of pitch, and of the gilding with which his new yacht was beautified. I showed his Majesty the perpetual motion sent to me by Dr. Stokes, from Cologne;<sup>3</sup> and then came in Monsieur Colbert, the French Ambassador.<sup>4</sup>

*19th.* I saw the magnificent entry of the French Ambassador Colbert, received in the Banqueting-house. I had never seen a richer coach than that which he came in to Whitehall. Standing by his Majesty at dinner in the presence, there was of that rare fruit called the King-pine, growing in Barbadoes and the West Indies; the first of them I had ever seen.<sup>5</sup> His Majesty having cut it up,

<sup>1</sup> [See *ante*, vol. i. p. 310. "In August, 1668, he [Bramston] was called to the Bench, and read there upon y<sup>e</sup> stat. 3<sup>o</sup> Jacobi, cap. 4, concerninge recusants" (Sir John Bramston's *Autobiography*, 1845, p. 30).]

<sup>2</sup> [See *ante*, p. 201.]

<sup>3</sup> [See *ante*, p. 98.]

<sup>4</sup> [See *ante*, p. 264.]

<sup>5</sup> See *ante*, as to the Queen-pine, p. 171.

was pleased to give me a piece off his own plate to taste of ; but, in my opinion, it falls short of those ravishing varieties of deliciousness described in Captain Ligon's *History*,<sup>1</sup> and others ; but possibly it might, or certainly was, much impaired in coming so far ; it has yet a grateful acidity, but tastes more like the quince and melon than of any other fruit he mentions.

28th August. Published my book of *The Perfection of Painting*,<sup>2</sup> dedicated to Mr. Howard.

17th September. I entertained Signor Muccinigo, the Venetian Ambassador, of one of the noblest families of the State, this being the day of making his public entry, setting forth from my house with several gentlemen of Venice and others in a very glorious train. He staid with me till the Earl of Anglesea and Sir Charles Cotterell (Master of the Ceremonies) came with the King's barge to carry him to the Tower, where the guns were fired at his landing ; he then entered his Majesty's coach, followed by many others of the nobility. I accompanied him to his house, where there was a most noble supper to all the company, of course. After the extraordinary compliments to me and my wife, for the civilities he received at my house, I took leave and returned. He is a very accomplished person. He is since Ambassador at Rome.

29th. I had much discourse with Signor Pietro Cisij,<sup>3</sup> a Persian gentleman, about the affairs of

<sup>1</sup> [*A True and Exact History of the Island of Barbadoes*, 1673.]

<sup>2</sup> [*An Idea of the Perfection of Painting, demonstrated from the Principles of Art*, etc. . . . Written in French by Roland Freart, Sieur de Cambray, and rendered English by J. E., Esquire, 1668." There is nothing of Evelyn in it but the Dedication, dated, "Says-Court, July 24, 1668," and a preface "To the Reader," both of which are reprinted in the *Miscellaneous Writings*, 1825, pp. 553-62.]

<sup>3</sup> [To whom was owing the inception of the *History of the Three Impostors* (see *post*, p. 294).]



Turkey, to my great satisfaction. I went to see Sir Elias Leighton's<sup>1</sup> project of a cart with iron axle-trees.

8th November. Being at dinner, my sister Evelyn sent for me to come up to London to my continuing sick brother.<sup>2</sup>

14th. To London, invited to the consecration of that excellent person, the Dean of Ripon, Dr. Wilkins, now made Bishop of Chester;<sup>3</sup> it was at Ely-House,<sup>4</sup> the Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Cosin, Bishop of Durham, the Bishops of Ely, Salisbury, Rochester, and others officiating. Dr. Tillotson preached.<sup>5</sup> Then, we went to a sumptuous dinner in the hall, where were the Duke of Buckingham, Judges, Secretaries of State, Lord-Keeper, Council, Noblemen, and innumerable other company, who were honourers of this incomparable man, universally beloved by all who knew him.

This being the Queen's birthday, great was the gallantry at Whitehall, and the night celebrated with very fine fireworks.

My poor brother continuing ill, I went not from him till the 17th, when, dining at the Groom-Porter's, I heard Sir Edward Sutton play excellently on the Irish harp; he performs genteelly, but not approaching my worthy friend, Mr. Clark,<sup>6</sup> a gentleman of Northumberland, who makes it

<sup>1</sup> Sir Elisha Leighton, *d.* 1685. He was one of the secretaries to the Prize Office, and F.R.S. from 1668 to 1677. "A mad freaking fellow"—according to one authority—though a D.C.L. According to another, "for a speech of forty words the wittiest man that ever he knew," and moreover "one of the best companions at a meal in the world."

<sup>2</sup> [Richard Evelyn of Woodcote.]

<sup>3</sup> [See *ante*, p. 76.]

<sup>4</sup> See *post*, under 27th June, 1675.

<sup>5</sup> [Dr. John Tillotson, 1630-94, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury.]

<sup>6</sup> [See *ante*, p. 70.]

execute lute, viol, and all the harmony an instrument is capable of; pity 'tis that it is not more in use; but, indeed, to play well, takes up the whole man, as Mr. Clark has assured me, who, though a gentleman of quality and parts, was yet brought up to that instrument from five years old, as I remember he told me.

25th November. I waited on Lord Sandwich, who presented me with a *Sembrador*<sup>1</sup> he brought out of Spain, showing me his two books of observations made during his embassy and stay at Madrid; in which were several rare things he promised to impart to me.

27th. I dined at my Lord Ashley's (since Earl of Shaftesbury),<sup>2</sup> when the match of my niece<sup>3</sup> was proposed for his only son, in which my assistance was desired for my Lord.

28th. Dr. Patrick<sup>4</sup> preached at Covent Garden, on Acts xvii. 31, the certainty of Christ's coming to judgment, it being Advent; a most suitable discourse.

19th December. I went to see the old play of *Catiline* acted,<sup>5</sup> having been now forgotten almost forty years.

20th. I dined with my Lord Cornbury at Clarendon House, now bravely furnished, especially with the pictures of most of our ancient and modern wits, poets, philosophers, famous and

<sup>1</sup> [A new engine for ploughing, equal sowing, and harrowing at once. There is a letter by Evelyn to Lord Brouncker on this in the *Miscellaneous Writings*, 1825, pp. 621-22. It is also described by its inventor, Don Joseph Lucatelo, in *Phil. Trans.* June, 1670, No. 60, vol. v. p. 1056.]

<sup>2</sup> [Anthony Ashley Cooper, 1621-83, created Earl of Shaftesbury in 1672.]

<sup>3</sup> Probably the daughter of his brother Richard, of Epsom, who eventually married William Montagu.

<sup>4</sup> [Dr. Simon Patrick, 1626-1707, champion of the Protestant party, and eventually Bishop of Ely.]

<sup>5</sup> [*Catiline, his Conspiracy*, by Ben Jonson, a Tragedy, 1611.]

learned Englishmen; which collection of the Chancellor's I much commended, and gave his Lordship a catalogue of more to be added.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In a letter to the Lord Chancellor, dated 18th March, 1666-67, Evelyn writes:

"My Lord, your Lordship inquires of me what pictures might be added to the Assembly of the Learned and Heroic persons of England which your Lordship has already collected; the design of which I do infinitely more magnify than the most famous heads of foreigners, which do not concern the glory of our country; and it is in my opinion the most honourable ornament, the most becoming and obliging, which your Lordship can think of to adorn your palace withal; such, therefore, as seem to be wanting, I shall range under these three heads:

#### THE LEARNED.

Sir Hen. Saville.  
Abp. of Armagh.  
Dr. Harvey.  
Sir H. Wotton.  
Sir T. Bodley.  
G. Buchanan.  
Jo. Barclay.  
Ed. Spenser.  
Wm. Lilly.  
Wm. Hooker.  
Dr. Sanderson.  
Wm. Oughtred.  
M. Philips.  
Rog. Bacon.

Geo. Ripley.  
Wm. of Occam.  
Hadrian 4th.  
Alex. Ales.  
Ven. Bede.  
Jo. Duns Scotus.  
Alcuinus, }  
Ridley, } martyrs.  
Latimer, }  
Roger Ascham.  
Sir J. Cheke.  
Ladies { Eliz. Joan Weston,\*  
          { Jane Grey.

#### POLITICIANS.

Sir Fra. Walsingham.  
Earl of Leicester.  
Sir W. Raleigh.

Card. Wolsey.  
Sir T. Smith.  
Card. Pole.

#### SOLDIERS.

Sir Fra. Drake.  
Sir J. Hawkins.  
Sir Martin Frobisher.  
Tho. Cavendish.  
Sir Ph. Sidney.

Earl of Essex.  
Talbot.  
Sir F. Greville.  
Hor. E. of Oxford.

\* For an account of Lady Joan Weston, less known than her companion, see George Ballard's *Learned Ladies*, 1775. There is a very scarce volume of Latin Poems by her, printed at Prague, 1606, and Evelyn specially mentions her in his *Numismata*. She is often celebrated by the writers of her time.

Some of which, though difficult to procure originals of, yet haply

81st December. I entertained my kind neighbours, according to custom, giving Almighty God thanks for His gracious mercies to me the past year.

1668-9 : 1st January. Imploring His blessing for the year entering, I went to church, where our Doctor preached on Psalm lxxv. 12, apposite to the season, and beginning a new year.

8rd. About this time one of Sir William Penn's sons had published a blasphemous book against the Deity of our Blessed Lord.<sup>1</sup>

29th. I went to see a tall gigantic woman who measured 6 feet 10 inches high, at 21 years old, born in the Low Countries.

18th February. I presented his Majesty with my *History of the Four* [?] *Impostors*;<sup>2</sup> he told me of other like cheats. I gave my book to Lord Arlington, to whom I dedicated it. It was now that he began to tempt me about writing "the Dutch War."<sup>3</sup>

15th. Saw Mrs. Philips' *Horace*<sup>4</sup> acted again.

18th. To the Royal Society, when Signor copies might be found out upon diligent inquiry. The rest, I think, your Lordship has already in good proportion."

Writing on the same subject to Pepys, in a letter dated 12th August, 1689, Evelyn tells him that the Lord Chancellor Clarendon had collected Portraits of very many of our great men; and he proceeds to put them down, without order or arrangement, as he recollected them. He gives also there a list of Portraits which he recommended to be added, a little different from the list contained in the letter above quoted; and he adds, that "when Lord Clarendon's design of making this collection was known, everybody who had any of the portraits, or could purchase them at any price, strove to make their court by presenting them. By this means he got many excellent pieces of Vandyck, and other originals by Lely and other the best of our modern masters."

<sup>1</sup> [See *ante*, p. 287.]

<sup>2</sup> *The History of the Three late Famous Impostors, viz. Padre Ottomano, Mahomed Bei, and Sabatai Sevi*, 1669. Reprinted in Evelyn's *Miscellaneous Writings*, pp. 563-620.

<sup>3</sup> [See *ante*, p. 230.]

<sup>4</sup> See *ante*, p. 285.

Malpighi,<sup>1</sup> an Italian physician and anatomist, sent this learned body the incomparable History of the Silkworm.

1st March. Dined at Lord Arlington's at Goring House,<sup>2</sup> with the Bishop of Hereford.

4th. To the Council of the Royal Society, about disposing my Lord Howard's library, now given to us.<sup>3</sup>

16th. To London, to place Mr. Christopher Wase<sup>4</sup> about my Lord Arlington.

18th. I went with Lord Howard of Norfolk, to visit Sir William Ducie at Charlton,<sup>5</sup> where we dined; the servants made our coachmen so drunk, that they both fell off their boxes on the heath, where we were fain to leave them, and were driven to London by two servants of my Lord's. This barbarous custom of making the masters welcome by intoxicating the servants, had now the second time happened to my coachmen.<sup>6</sup>

My son came finally from Oxford.

2nd April. Dined at Mr. Treasurer's, where was (with many noblemen) Colonel Titus of the bedchamber, author of the famous piece against Cromwell, *Killing no Murder*.<sup>7</sup>

I now placed Mr. Wase with Mr. Williamson, Secretary to the Secretary of State, and Clerk of the Papers.

<sup>1</sup> Marcellus Malpighi, 1628-94, was eminent for his discoveries respecting the economy of the liver and kidneys, and for his researches in vegetable physiology.

<sup>2</sup> [See *ante*, p. 226. The last Earl of Norwich let Goring House to Lord Arlington in 1666. It was burned down in September, 1674.]

<sup>3</sup> [See *ante*, p. 267.]

<sup>4</sup> [See *ante*, p. 50.]

<sup>5</sup> [See *ante*, p. 4.]

<sup>6</sup> [See *ante*, p. 81.]

<sup>7</sup> [Silius Titus, 1623-1704. The apology for tyrannicide called *Killing no Murder*, May, 1657, is now attributed to Edward Sexby, d. 1658, but Titus may have had a hand in it. It is reprinted in Henry Morley's *Famous Pamphlets*, and the *Harleian Miscellany*, iv. 289.]

*14th April.* I dined with the Archbishop of Canterbury, at Lambeth, and saw the library, which was not very considerable.

*19th May.* At a Council of the Royal Society our grant was finished, in which his Majesty gives us Chelsea College;<sup>1</sup> and some land about it. It was ordered that five should be a quorum for a Council. The Vice-President was then sworn for the first time, and it was proposed how we should receive the Prince of Tuscany, who desired to visit the Society.

*20th.* This evening, at 10 o'clock, was born my third daughter, who was baptized on the 25th by the name of Susannah.<sup>2</sup>

*8rd June.* Went to take leave of Lord Howard, going Ambassador to Morocco.<sup>3</sup> Dined at Lord Arlington's, where were the Earl of Berkshire, Lord Saint John, Sir Robert Howard, and Sir R. Holmes.<sup>4</sup>

*10th.* Came my Lord Cornbury, Sir William Pulteney,<sup>5</sup> and others to visit me. I went this evening to London, to carry Mr. Pepys to my brother Richard, now exceedingly afflicted with the stone, who had been successfully cut,<sup>6</sup> and carried the stone as big as a tennis-ball to show him, and encourage his resolution to go through the operation.

*80th.* My wife went a journey of pleasure down

<sup>1</sup> [See *ante*, p. 281. The conversion of Chelsea College into a house for the meetings of the Royal Society was never put into effect.]

<sup>2</sup> [Afterwards Mrs. William Draper. See *post*, under 19th February, 1693.]

<sup>3</sup> [See *ante*, p. 283.]

<sup>4</sup> [Admiral Sir Robert Holmes, 1622-92, Governor in this year of the Isle of Wight.]

<sup>5</sup> Grandfather of the first Earl of Bath. He was a Commissioner of the Privy Seal under William III., and died in 1671.

<sup>6</sup> [This is Evelyn's first mention of his brother diarist, whose records end 31st May in this year.]

the river as far as the sea, with Mrs. Howard<sup>1</sup> and her daughter,<sup>2</sup> the Maid of Honour, and others, amongst whom that excellent creature Mrs. Blagge.<sup>3</sup>

*7th July.* I went towards Oxford; lay at Little Wycombe.

*8th.* Oxford.

*9th.* In the morning, was celebrated the Encœnia of the New Theatre, so magnificently built by the munificence of Dr. Gilbert Sheldon, Archbishop of Canterbury, in which was spent £25,000, as Sir Christopher Wren, the architect (as I remember), told me; and yet it was never seen by the benefactor, my Lord Archbishop having told me that he never did or never would see it. It is, in truth, a fabric comparable to any of this kind of former ages, and doubtless exceeding any of the present, as this University does for colleges, libraries, schools, students, and order, all the Universities in the world. To the theatre is added the famous Sheldonian printing-house. This being at the Act and the first time of opening the Theatre (Acts being formerly kept in St. Mary's Church, which might be thought indecent, that being a place set apart for the immediate worship of God, and was the inducement for building this noble pile), it was now resolved to keep the present Act in it, and celebrate its dedication with the greatest splendour and formality that might be; and, therefore, drew

<sup>1</sup> [Mrs. Howard was the widow of William, fourth son of the first Earl of Berkshire.]

<sup>2</sup> [Anne, afterwards married to Sir Gabriel Sylvius, Hofmeister or Chamberlain to the Prince of Orange.]

<sup>3</sup> Margaret Blagge, afterwards Mrs. Godolphin, 1652-78, whose life, written by Evelyn, was published in 1847 under the auspices of Samuel Wilberforce, Bishop of Oxford. It has recently, 1904, been reprinted in the series of "King's Classics" edited by Professor Gollancz. (See *post*, under 9th September, 1678.)

a world of strangers, and other company, to the University, from all parts of the nation.

The Vice-Chancellor, Heads of Houses, and Doctors, being seated in magisterial seats, the Vice-Chancellor's chair and desk, Proctors', etc., covered with brocatelle (a kind of brocade) and cloth of gold; the University Registrar read the founder's grant and gift of it to the University for their scholastic exercises upon these solemn occasions. Then followed Dr. South,<sup>1</sup> the University's orator, in an eloquent speech, which was very long, and not without some malicious and indecent reflections on the Royal Society, as underminers of the University; which was very foolish and untrue, as well as unseasonable. But, to let that pass from an ill-natured man, the rest was in praise of the Archbishop and the ingenious architect. This ended, after loud music from the corridor above, where an organ was placed, there followed divers panegyric speeches, both in prose and verse, interchangeably pronounced by the young students placed in the rostrums, in Pindarics, Eclogues, Heroics, etc., mingled with excellent music, vocal and instrumental, to entertain the ladies and the rest of the company. A speech was then made in praise of academical learning. This lasted from eleven in the morning till seven at night, which was concluded with ringing of bells, and universal joy and feasting.

10th July. The next day began the more solemn lectures in all the faculties, which were performed in the several schools, where all the Inceptor-Doctors did their exercises, the Professors having first ended their reading. The assembly now returned to the Theatre, where the *Terræ filius* (the *University Buffoon*) entertained the auditory with a tedious, abusive, sarcastical rhapsody,

<sup>1</sup> [See *ante*, p. 207.]



most unbecoming the gravity of the University, and that so grossly, that unless it be suppressed, it will be of ill consequence, as I afterwards plainly expressed my sense of it both to the Vice-Chancellor and several Heads of Houses, who were perfectly ashamed of it, and resolved to take care of it in future. The old facetious way of rallying upon the questions was left off, falling wholly upon persons, so that it was rather licentious lying and railing than genuine and noble wit. In my life, I was never witness of so shameful entertainment. After this ribaldry, the Proctors made their speeches. Then began the music Act, vocal and instrumental, above in the balustrade corridor opposite to the Vice-Chancellor's seat. Then, Dr. Wallis,<sup>1</sup> the mathematical Professor, made his oration, and created one Doctor of music according to the usual ceremonies of gown (which was of white damask), cap, ring, kiss, etc. Next followed the disputations of the Inceptor-Doctors in Medicine, the speech of their Professor, Dr. Hyde,<sup>2</sup> and so in course their respective creations. Then disputed the Inceptors of Law, the speech of their Professor, and creation. Lastly, Inceptors of Theology: Dr. Compton<sup>3</sup> (brother to the Earl of Northampton)

<sup>1</sup> [See *ante*, p. 168.]

<sup>2</sup> Thomas Hyde, D.D., 1636-1703, Hebrew Reader, Keeper of the Bodleian Library, Prebend of Salisbury Cathedral, Regius Professor of Hebrew, and canon of Christ Church, Oxford; author of a Latin History of the Ancient Persians and Medes, and one of Walton's coadjutors in the great polyglot Bible.

<sup>3</sup> Henry Compton, 1632-1713, son of Spencer Compton, second Earl of Northampton, slain at the battle of Hopton Heath, commenced his career as a cornet of dragoons, but after a short time abandoned the army for the church, in which he raised himself by his talents to be Bishop of Oxford, and in 1675 was translated to the see of London. He was a zealous Protestant during the reign of James II., and not only was instrumental in bringing over William of Orange to this country, but placed the crown upon his head, on Archbishop Sancroft refusing to assist

being junior, began with great modesty and applause; so the rest. After which, Dr. Tillotson, Dr. Sprat,<sup>1</sup> etc., and then Dr. Allestree's speech,<sup>2</sup> the King's Professor, and their respective creations. Last of all, the Vice-Chancellor, shutting up the whole in a panegyric oration, celebrating their benefactor and the rest, apposite to the occasion.

Thus was the Theatre dedicated by the scholastic exercises in all the Faculties with great solemnity; and the night, as the former, entertaining the new Doctor's friends in feasting and music. I was invited by Dr. Barlow,<sup>3</sup> the worthy and learned Professor of Queen's College.

*11th July.* The Act sermon was this forenoon preached by Dr. Hall,<sup>4</sup> in St. Mary's, in an honest practical discourse against Atheism. In the afternoon, the church was so crowded, that not coming early I could not approach to hear.

*12th.* Monday. Was held the Divinity Act in the Theatre again, when proceeded seventeen Doctors, in all Faculties some.<sup>5</sup>

*13th.* I dined at the Vice-Chancellor's,<sup>6</sup> and spent the afternoon in seeing the rarities of the public libraries, and visiting the noble marbles and inscriptions, now inserted in the walls, that compass the area of the Theatre, which were 150 of the most ancient and worthy treasures of that kind in the learned world. Now, observing that people approached them too near, some idle persons began to scratch and injure them, I advised that a hedge

at the coronation. He wrote several works of a religious character, and a translation of the life of Donna Olympia Maldachina, from the Italian.

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Thomas Sprat, 1635-1713, Bishop of Rochester, the biographer of Cowley, historian of the Royal Society, and author of sundry verses and sermons.

<sup>2</sup> [See *ante*, p. 157.]

<sup>3</sup> [See *ante*, p. 77.]

<sup>4</sup> [See *ante*, p. 135.]

<sup>5</sup> [See *ante*, p. 297.]

<sup>6</sup> [Dr. Fell (see p. 169).]

of holly should be planted at the foot of the wall, to be kept breast-high only to protect them ; which the Vice-Chancellor promised to do the next season.

*14th July.* Dr. Fell,<sup>1</sup> Dean of Christ-church, and Vice-Chancellor, with Dr. Allestree, Professor, with beadles and maces before them, came to visit me at my lodging.—I went to visit Lord Howard's sons at Magdalen College.

*15th.* Having two days before had notice that the University intended me the honour of Doctorship, I was this morning attended by the beadles belonging to the Law, who conducted me to the Theatre, where I found the Duke of Ormonde (now Chancellor of the University) with the Earl of Chesterfield and Mr. Spencer (brother to the late Earl of Sunderland).<sup>2</sup> Thence, we marched to the Convocation-House, a convocation having been called on purpose ; here, being all of us robed in the porch, in scarlet with caps and hoods, we were led in by the Professor of Laws, and presented respectively by name, with a short eulogy, to the Vice-Chancellor, who sate in the chair, with all the Doctors and Heads of Houses and masters about the room, which was exceeding full. Then, began the Public Orator his speech, directed chiefly to the Duke of Ormonde, the Chancellor ; but in which I had my compliment, in course. This ended, we were called up, and created Doctors according to the form, and seated by the Vice-Chancellor amongst the Doctors, on his right hand ; then, the Vice-Chancellor made a short speech, and so, saluting our brother Doctors, the pageantry concluded, and the convocation was dissolved. So formal a creation of honorary Doctors had seldom been seen, that

<sup>1</sup> Afterwards Bishop of Oxford, 1675.

<sup>2</sup> [See *post*, under 8th July, 1675, where Evelyn says he had known Mr. Spencer in France.]

a convocation should be called on purpose, and speeches made by the Orator; but they could do no less, their Chancellor being to receive, or rather do them, this honour. I should have been made Doctor with the rest at the public Act, but their expectation of their Chancellor made them defer it. I was then led with my brother Doctors to an extraordinary entertainment at Doctor Mews's,<sup>1</sup> head of St. John's College, and, after abundance of feasting and compliments, having visited the Vice-Chancellor and other Doctors, and given them thanks for the honour done me, I went towards home the 16th, and got as far as Windsor, and so to my house the next day.

*4th August.* I was invited by Sir Henry Peckham to his reading-feast in the Middle Temple, a pompous entertainment, where were the Archbishop of Canterbury, all the great Earls and Lords, etc. I had much discourse with my Lord Winchelsea,<sup>2</sup> a prodigious talker; and the Venetian Ambassador.

*17th.* To London, spending almost the entire day in surveying what progress was made in rebuilding the ruinous City, which now began a little to revive after its sad calamity.

*20th.* I saw the splendid audience of the Danish Ambassador in the Banqueting-house at Whitehall.

*23rd.* I went to visit my most excellent and worthy neighbour, the Lord Bishop of Rochester,<sup>3</sup> at Bromley, which he was now repairing, after the dilapidations of the late Rebellion.

*2nd September.* I was this day very ill of a pain

<sup>1</sup> [Peter Mews, 1619-1706; President of St. John's College, Oxford, 1667-78.]

<sup>2</sup> [See *ante*, p. 147.]

<sup>3</sup> [John Dolben, 1625-86; Bishop of Rochester, 1666-88. The palace, afterwards improved by Atterbury and visited by Walpole, no longer exists, and the house which has taken its place is not in the diocese of Rochester.]

in my limbs, which continued most of this week, and was increased by a visit I made to my old acquaintance, the Earl of Norwich, at his house in Epping Forest, where are many good pictures put into the wainscot of the rooms, which Mr. Baker,<sup>1</sup> his Lordship's predecessor there, brought out of Spain; especially the History of Joseph, a picture of the pious and learned Picus Mirandola, and an incomparable one of old Brueghel. The gardens were well understood, I mean the *potager*. I returned late in the evening, ferrying over the water at Greenwich.

*26th September.* To church, to give God thanks for my recovery.

*3rd October.* I received the Blessed Eucharist, to my unspeakable joy.

*21st.* To the Royal Society, meeting for the first time after a long recess, during vacation, according to custom; where was read a description of the prodigious eruption of Mount Etna; and our English itinerant presented an account of his autumnal peregrination about England, for which we hired him, bringing dried fowls, fish, plants, animals, etc.

*26th.* My dear brother continued extremely full of pain, the Lord be gracious to him!

*8rd November.* This being the day of meeting for the poor, we dined neighbourly together.

*25th.* I heard an excellent discourse by Dr. Patrick,<sup>2</sup> on the Resurrection; and afterwards, visited the Countess of Kent, my kinswoman.

*8th December.* To London, upon the second edition of my *Sylva*,<sup>3</sup> which I presented to the Royal Society.

1669-70: *6th February.* Dr. John Breton, Master

<sup>1</sup> [The Earl of Norwich (George Goring) had married Mr. Baker's widow (see *post*, under 16th March, 1683).]

<sup>2</sup> [See *ante*, p. 292.]

<sup>3</sup> [See *ante*, p. 195.]

of Emmanuel College, in Cambridge (uncle to our vicar),<sup>1</sup> preached on John i. 27; "whose shoe-latchet I am not worthy to unloose," etc., describing the various fashions of shoes, or sandals, worn by the Jews, and other nations: of the ornaments of the feet: how great persons had servants that took them off when they came to their houses, and bare them after them: by which pointing the dignity of our Saviour, when such a person as St. John Baptist acknowledged his unworthiness even of that mean office. The lawfulness, decency, and necessity, of subordinate degrees and ranks of men and servants, as well in the Church as State: against the late levellers, and others of that dangerous rabble, who would have all alike.

*8<sup>th</sup> March.* Finding my brother [Richard] in such exceeding torture, and that he now began to fall into convulsion-fits, I solemnly set the next day apart to beg of God to mitigate his sufferings, and prosper the only means which yet remained for his recovery, he being not only much wasted, but exceedingly and all along averse from being cut (for the stone); but, when he at last consented, and it came to the operation, and all things prepared, his spirit and resolution failed.

*6<sup>th</sup>.* Dr. Patrick<sup>2</sup> preached in Covent Garden church. I participated of the Blessed Sacrament, recommending to God the deplorable condition of my dear brother, who was almost in the last agonies of death. I watched late with him this night. It pleased God to deliver him out of this miserable life, towards five o'clock this Monday morning, to my unspeakable grief. He was a brother whom I most dearly loved, for his many virtues; but two years younger than myself, a sober, prudent, worthy gentleman. He had married a

<sup>1</sup> [Dr. Robert Breton of Deptford (see *ante*, p. 177).]

<sup>2</sup> [*Vide supra*, p. 308.]

great fortune, and left one only daughter,<sup>1</sup> and a noble seat at Woodcote, near Epsom. His body was opened, and a stone taken out of his bladder, not much bigger than a nutmeg. I returned home on the 8th, full of sadness, and to bemoan my loss.

*20th March.* A stranger preached at the Savoy French church; the Liturgy of the Church of England being now used altogether, as translated into French by Dr. Durel.<sup>2</sup>

*21st.* We all accompanied the corpse of my dear brother to Epsom church, where he was decently interred in the chapel belonging to Woodcote House. A great number of friends and gentlemen of the country attended, about twenty coaches and six horses, and innumerable people.

*22nd.* I went to Westminster, where in the House of Lords I saw his Majesty sit on his throne,<sup>3</sup> but without his robes, all the peers sitting with their hats on; the business of the day being the divorce of my Lord Roos. Such an occasion and sight had not been seen in England since the time of Henry VIII.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> [Ann (not Mary) Evelyn, afterwards Mrs. William Montagu (see *post*, under 29th June, 1670).]

<sup>2</sup> John Durel, Dean of Windsor, 1625-83. He translated the Liturgy into the French and Latin languages, and was the author of a *Vindication of the Church of England against Schismatics*, 1669.

<sup>3</sup> [Marvell, in a letter of 14th April, makes the date 26th March. Charles (see next note) was interested in the Roos divorce bill. Marvell adds—"The King has ever since continued his session among them [the Lords], and says it is better than going to a play." (Birrell's *Marvell*, 1905, p. 149).]

<sup>4</sup> Evelyn subjoins in a note: "When there was a project, 1669, for getting a divorce for the King, to facilitate it there was brought into the House of Lords a bill for dissolving the marriage of Lord Roos, on account of adultery, and to give him leave to marry again. This Bill, after great debates, passed by the plurality of only two votes, and that by the great industry of the Lord's friends, as well as the Duke's enemies, who carried it on chiefly in hopes it might be a precedent and inducement for the

*5th May.* To London, concerning the office of Latin Secretary to his Majesty, a place of more honour and dignity than profit, the reversion of which he had promised me.

*21st.* Came to visit me Mr. Henry Saville,<sup>1</sup> and Sir Charles Scarborough.<sup>2</sup>

*26th.* Receiving a letter from Mr. Philip Howard, Lord Almoner to the Queen,<sup>3</sup> that Monsieur Evelin,<sup>4</sup> first physician to Madame (who was now come to Dover to visit the King her brother),<sup>5</sup> was come to town, greatly desirous to see me; but his stay so short, that he could not come to me, I went with my brother to meet him at the Tower, where he was seeing the magazines and other curiosities,

King to enter the more easily into their late proposals: nor were they a little encouraged therein, when they saw the King countenance and drive on the Bill in Lord Roos's favour. Of eighteen Bishops that were in the House, only two voted for the bill, of which one voted through age, and one was reputed Socinian."—The two Bishops favourable to the bill were Dr. Cosin, Bishop of Durham, and Dr. Wilkins, Bishop of Chester.

<sup>1</sup> [Henry Savile, 1642-87; Vice-Chamberlain, 1680, and Envoy to Paris, 1679-82.]

<sup>2</sup> [See *ante*, p. 63.]

<sup>3</sup> [See *ante*, vol. i. p. 317.]

<sup>4</sup> [William Yvelin, or Evelin, Physician and Confessor to Henry IV., Louis XIII., and Louis XIV. (Bright's *Dorking*, 1884, 303). He attended Madame in her last illness, at St. Cloud.]

<sup>5</sup> [The Princess Henrietta (Duchess of Orleans), who had come to England on the 25th May, to negotiate the secret (and scandalous) Treaty of Dover—the "*Traité de Madame*"—which was signed on the 1st June. Marvell notes her intended advent. "Madam, our King's sister, during the King of France's progress in Flanders, is to come as far as Canterbury. There will doubtless be family counsels then" (Letter of 14th April in Birrell's *Marvell*, 1905, p. 150). Other forecasters attributed her visit to other causes. Lord Halifax (*Character of a Trimmer, Miscellanies*, 1700, p. 74) laid it *inter alia* to the Persian costume (*ante*, p. 262):—"It was thought that one of the Instructions Madam brought along with her, was to laugh us out of these Vests, which she performed so effectually, that in a moment, like so many Footmen who had quitted their Masters' Livery, we all took it again, and returned to our old Service."]



having never before been in England: we renewed our alliance and friendship,<sup>1</sup> with much regret on both sides that, he being to return towards Dover that evening, we could not enjoy one another any longer. How this French family, Ivelin, of Evelin, Normandy, a very ancient and noble house, is grafted into our pedigree, see in the collection brought from Paris, 1650.

*16th June.* I went with some friends to the Bear Garden,<sup>2</sup> where was cock-fighting, dog-fighting, bear and bull baiting, it being a famous day for all these butcherly sports, or rather barbarous cruelties. The bulls did exceeding well, but the Irish wolf-dog exceeded, which was a tall grey-hound, a stately creature indeed, who beat a cruel mastiff. One of the bulls tossed a dog full into a lady's lap as she sate in one of the boxes at a considerable height from the arena. Two poor dogs were killed, and so all ended with the ape on horseback, and I most heartily weary of the rude and dirty pastime, which I had not seen, I think, in twenty years before.

*18th.* Dined at Goring House,<sup>3</sup> whither my Lord Arlington carried me from Whitehall with the Marquis of Worcester;<sup>4</sup> there, we found Lord Sandwich, Viscount Stafford,<sup>5</sup> the Lieutenant of the Tower, and others. After dinner, my Lord communicated to me his Majesty's desire that I would engage to write the History of our late War

<sup>1</sup> [Evelyn must have already met his French kinsman at Paris.]

<sup>2</sup> [In the Bankside, Southwark, near to the old Palace of the Bishops of Winchester, and the prison called the Clink. Pepys also saw a dog tossed into the boxes (14th August, 1665). "It is a very rude and nasty pleasure," he says. But he went again.]

<sup>3</sup> [See *ante*, p. 226.]

<sup>4</sup> [Henry Somerset, third Marquis of Worcester, 1629-1700, afterwards first Duke of Beaufort.]

<sup>5</sup> William Howard, first Viscount Stafford, 1614-80, fifth son of Thomas, Earl of Arundel. In 1678, he was accused of complicity with the Popish Plot, and upon trial by his Peers in Westminster Hall, was found guilty, and beheaded.

with the Hollanders, which I had hitherto declined ; this I found was ill taken, and that I should disoblige his Majesty, who had made choice of me to do him this service, and, if I would undertake it, I should have all the assistance the Secretary's office and others could give me, with other encouragements, which I could not decently refuse.<sup>1</sup>

Lord Stafford rose from table, in some disorder, because there were roses stuck about the fruit when the dessert was set on the table ;<sup>2</sup> such an antipathy, it seems, he had to them as once Lady St. Leger also had, and to that degree that, as Sir Kenelm Digby tells us, laying but a rose upon her cheek when she was asleep, it raised a blister ; but Sir Kenelm was a teller of strange things.

*24th June.* Came the Earl of Huntingdon and Countess,<sup>3</sup> with the Lord Sherard, to visit us.

*29th.* To London, in order to my niece's marriage, Mary,<sup>4</sup> daughter to my late brother Richard, of Woodcote, with the eldest son of Mr. Attorney Montagu,<sup>5</sup> which was celebrated

<sup>1</sup> [See *ante*, p. 294 ; and *post*, pp. 314, 315, and 318.]

<sup>2</sup> [Montaigne, in the twenty-fifth chapter of his first Book, refers to some kindred antipathies. Germanicus (he says) "could not abide to see a cock, or heare his crowing"—in which latter peculiarity he must have resembled Carlyle. "I have seene some to startle at the smell of an apple, more than at the shot of a peece" (Florio's translation). Several other instances are given in Kirby's *Wonderful Museum*, 1805, iii. pp. 122-23. The Duc d'Epemon, an admiral of France, fainted at the sight of a leveret ; César d'Albret was taken ill whenever he saw a sucking-pig at table ; La Mothe le Vayer (who delighted in thunder) was unable to endure musical instruments of any kind ; Hobbes of Malmesbury could not bear to be left in the dark ; Tycho Brahe was grievously affected by hares or foxes ; and so many people object to cheese that a Groningen philosopher, Martin Schock, composed a treatise *De Aversione Casei*. (Cf. also Pepys' *Diary*, 12th July, 1666.)]

<sup>3</sup> [Theophilus Hastings, seventh Earl of Huntingdon, 1650-1701.]

<sup>4</sup> [See *ante*, p. 292, n. 3.]

<sup>5</sup> [Sir William Montagu, 1619-1706 ; Chief Baron of the Exchequer, 1676.]

at Southampton House chapel, after which a magnificent entertainment, feast, and dancing, dinner and supper, in the great room there; but the bride was bedded at my sister's lodging, in Drury-Lane.

*6th July.* Came to visit me Mr. Stanhope, Gentleman-Usher to her Majesty, and uncle to the Earl of Chesterfield, a very fine man, with my Lady Hutcheson.

*19th.* I accompanied my worthy friend, that excellent man Sir Robert Murray,<sup>1</sup> with Mr. Slingsby, Master of the Mint, to see the latter's seat and estate at Burrow Green in Cambridge-shire, he desiring our advice for placing a new house, which he was resolved to build.<sup>2</sup> We set out in a coach and six horses with him and his lady, dined about midway at one Mr. Turner's, where we found a very noble dinner, venison, music, and a circle of country ladies and their gallants. After dinner, we proceeded, and came to Burrow Green that night. This had been the ancient seat of the Chekes (whose daughter Mr. Slingsby married), formerly tutor to King Henry [? Edward] VI. The old house large and ample, and built for ancient hospitality, ready to fall down with age, placed in a dirty hole, a stiff clay, no water, next an adjoining church-yard, and with other inconveniences. We pitched on a spot of rising ground, adorned with venerable woods, a dry and sweet prospect east and west, and fit for a park, but no running water; at a mile distance from the old house.

*20th.* We went to dine at Lord Allington's,<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> [See *ante*, p. 159.]

<sup>2</sup> It is probable that Slingsby did not build, and that after his misfortunes (see *post*, under 12th January, 1688) it was sold. Lysons tells us, in his *Magna Britannia*, 1810, ii. 96, that all which remained of an old brick mansion was converted into a farm-house.

<sup>3</sup> Since Constable of the Tower.—*Evelyn's Note*.

who had newly built a house of great cost, I believe little less than £20,000.<sup>1</sup> His architect was Mr. Pratt. It is seated in a park, with a sweet prospect and stately avenue; but water still defective; the house has also its infirmities. Went back to Mr. Slingsby's.

*22nd July.* We rode out to see the great mere, or level, of recovered fen land, not far off. In the way, we met Lord Arlington going to his house in Suffolk, accompanied with Count Ogniati, the Spanish minister, and Sir Bernard Gascoigne;<sup>2</sup> he was very importunate with me to go with him to Euston, being but fifteen miles distant; but in regard of my company, I could not. So, passing through Newmarket, we alighted to see his Majesty's house there, now new-building;<sup>3</sup> the arches of the cellars beneath are well turned by Mr. Samuel, the architect, the rest mean enough, and hardly fit for a hunting-house. Many of the rooms above had the chimneys in the angles and corners, a mode now introduced by his Majesty, which I do at no hand approve of. I predict it will spoil many noble houses and rooms, if followed. It does only well in very small and trifling rooms,

<sup>1</sup> At Horseheath. The Allingtons were settled here before 1429: Evelyn's friend, William, who built the house above referred to, had been created an Irish Peer in 1646 by the title of Lord Allington. Lysons says the house cost £70,000, and with the estate was sold, about 1687, to Mr. John Bromley for £42,000, who expended £30,000 more on the building. His grandson was created Lord Montford, in 1741. In 1776, the second Lord Montford sold the estate, the house being sold, in 1777, for the materials, to be pulled down. See Lysons, *Magna Britannia*, 1810, ii. pp. 216, 217.

<sup>2</sup> [Sir Bernard Gascoigne, 1614-87, afterwards Envoy to Vienna.]

<sup>3</sup> [In High Street. It occupied the site of the lodge erected by James I.; and was sold pursuant to 57 Geo. III. cap. 97. The part which remains belongs to the Duke of Rutland; where the rest stood, there is now an Independent Chapel (Murray's *Suffolk, etc.*, 1892, p. 411).]

but takes from the state of greater. Besides, this house is placed in a dirty street,<sup>1</sup> without any court or avenue, like a common one, whereas it might, and ought to have been built at either end of the town, upon the very carpet where the sports are celebrated; but, it being the purchase of an old wretched house of my Lord Thomond's, his Majesty was persuaded to set it on that foundation, the most improper imaginable for a house of sport and pleasure.<sup>2</sup>

We went to see the stables and fine horses, of which many were here kept at a vast expense, with all the art and tenderness imaginable.

Being arrived at some meres, we found Lord Wotton<sup>3</sup> and Sir John Kiviet<sup>4</sup> about their draining-engines, having, it seems, undertaken to do wonders on a vast piece of marsh-ground they had hired of Sir Thomas Chicheley (Master of the Ordnance).<sup>5</sup> They much pleased themselves with the hopes of a rich harvest of hemp and cole-seed, which was the crop expected.

Here we visited the engines and mills both for wind and water, draining it through two rivers, or graffs, cut by hand, and capable of carrying considerable barges, which went thwart one the other, discharging the water into the sea. Such this spot had been the former winter; it was astonishing to see it now dry, and so rich that weeds grew on the banks, almost as high as a man and horse. Here, my Lord and his partner had built two or three rooms, with Flanders white bricks, very hard. One of the great engines was in the kitchen, where I saw the fish swim up, even to the very chimney-

<sup>1</sup> [See note, p. 310.]

<sup>2</sup> Sold by the Crown in 1816.

<sup>3</sup> [Charles Henry Kirkhoven, first Baron Wotton of Wotton, and Earl of Bellomont, *d.* 1683. See *post*, under 2nd June, 1676.]

<sup>4</sup> See *ante*, p. 266.

<sup>5</sup> [See *ante*, p. 247.]

hearth, by a small cut through the room, and running within a foot of the very fire.

Having, after dinner, rid about that vast level, pestered with heat and swarms of gnats, we returned over Newmarket Heath, the way being mostly a sweet turf and down, like Salisbury Plain, the jockeys breathing their fine barbs and racers, and giving them their heats.

*23rd July.* We returned from Burrow Green to London, staying some time at Audley End,<sup>1</sup> to see that fine palace. It is indeed a cheerful piece of Gothic building, or rather *antico moderno*, but placed in an obscure bottom. The cellars and galleries are very stately. It has a river by it, a pretty avenue of limes, and in a park.

This is in Saffron Walden parish, famous for that useful plant, with which all the country is covered.

Dining at Bishop Stortford, we came late to London.

*5th August.* There was sent me by a neighbour a servant-maid, who, in the last month, as she was sitting before her mistress at work, felt a stroke on her arm a little above the wrist for some height, the smart of which, as if struck by another hand, caused her to hold her arm awhile till somewhat mitigated; but it put her into a kind of convulsion, or rather hysteric fit. A gentleman, coming casually in, looking on her arm, found that part powdered with red crosses, set in most exact and wonderful order, neither swelled nor depressed, about this shape,

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      x
    x   x
  x   x   x
    x   x
      x

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not seeming to be any way made by artifice, of a

<sup>1</sup> [See *ante*, p. 97.]

reddish colour, not so red as blood, the skin over them smooth, the rest of the arm livid and of a mortified hue, with certain prints as it were of the stroke of fingers. This had happened three several times in July, at about ten days' interval, the crosses beginning to wear out, but the successive ones set in other different, yet uniform order. The maid seemed very modest, and came from London to Deptford with her mistress, to avoid the discourse and importunity of curious people. She made no gain by it, pretended no religious fancies; but seemed to be a plain, ordinary, silent, working wench, somewhat fat, short, and high-coloured. She told me divers divines and physicians had seen her, but were unsatisfied; that she had taken some remedies against her fits, but they did her no good; she had never before had any fits; once since, she seemed in her sleep to hear one say to her that she should tamper no more with them, nor trouble herself with anything that happened, but put her trust in the merits of Christ only.

This is the substance of what she told me, and what I saw and curiously examined. I was formerly acquainted with the impostorious nuns of Loudun, in France, which made much noise amongst the Papists; I therefore thought this worth the notice. I remember Monsieur Monconys<sup>1</sup> (that curious traveller and a Roman Catholic) was by no means satisfied with the *stigmata* of those nuns, because they were so shy of letting him scrape the letters, which were Jesus, Maria, Joseph (as I think), observing they began to scale off with it, whereas this poor wench was willing to submit to any trial; so

<sup>1</sup> Balthasar de Monconys, 1611-65, a Frenchman, celebrated for his travels in the East, which were published in three volumes, 1665-66. His object was to discover vestiges of the philosophy of Trismegistus and Zoroaster; in which, it is hardly necessary to add, he was not very successful.

that I profess I know not what to think of it, nor dare I pronounce it anything supernatural.

26th *August*. At Windsor I supped with the Duke of Monmouth; and, the next day, invited by Lord Arlington, dined with the same Duke, and divers Lords. After dinner, my Lord and I had a conference of more than an hour alone in his bed-chamber, to engage me in the History. I showed him something that I had drawn up, to his great satisfaction, and he desired me to show it to the Treasurer.

28th. One of the Canons preached; then followed the offering of the Knights of the Order, according to custom; first the poor Knights, in procession, then, the Canons in their formalities, the Dean and Chancellor, then his Majesty (the Sovereign), the Duke of York, Prince Rupert; and, lastly, the Earl of Oxford, being all the Knights that were then at Court.

I dined with the Treasurer, and consulted with him what pieces I was to add; in the afternoon, the King took me aside into the balcony over the terrace, extremely pleased with what had been told him I had begun, in order to his commands, and enjoining me to proceed vigorously in it. He told me he had ordered the Secretaries of State to give me all necessary assistance of papers and particulars relating to it, and enjoining me to make it a *little keen*, for that the Hollanders had very unhandsomely abused him in their pictures, books, and libels.

Windsor was now going to be repaired, being exceedingly ragged and ruinous. Prince Rupert, the Constable, had begun to trim up the keep or high round Tower, and handsomely adorned his hall with furniture of arms, which was very singular, by so disposing the pikes, muskets, pistols, bandoleers, holsters, drums, back, breast, and headpieces, as was very extraordinary. Thus, those huge steep



stairs ascending to it had the walls invested with this martial furniture, all new and bright, so disposing the bandoleers, holsters, and drums, as to represent festoons, and that without any confusion, trophy-like. From the hall we went into his bed-chamber, and ample rooms hung with tapestry, curious and effeminate pictures, so extremely different from the other, which presented nothing but war and horror.

The King passed most of his time in hunting the stag, and walking in the park, which he was now planting with rows of trees.

*18th September.* To visit Sir Richard Lashford, my kinsman, and Mr. Charles Howard,<sup>1</sup> at his extraordinary garden, at Deepdene.

*15th.* I went to visit Mr. Arthur Onslow, at West Clandon, a pretty dry seat on the Downs,<sup>2</sup> where we dined in his great room.

*17th.* To visit Mr. Hussey,<sup>3</sup> who, being near Wotton, lives in a sweet valley, deliciously watered.

*28rd.* To Albury, to see how that garden proceeded, which I found exactly done to the design and plot I had made, with the crypta through the mountain in the park, thirty perches in length. Such a Pausilippe<sup>4</sup> is nowhere in England. The canal was now digging, and the vineyard planted.

*14th October.* I spent the whole afternoon in private with the Treasurer, who put into my hands those secret pieces and transactions concerning the Dutch war, and particularly the expedition of

<sup>1</sup> [See *ante*, p. 190.]

<sup>2</sup> [Clandon Park, West Clandon. The present house was built by Giacomo Leoni in 1731, and the park laid out by "Capability" Brown.]

<sup>3</sup> [Peter Hussey, at Sutton in Shere (see *post*, under 30th August, 1681.)]

<sup>4</sup> See *ante*, p. 281. "Pausilippe" is a word adapted by Evelyn for a subterranean passage from the famous Grotta di Posilipo near Naples.

Bergen, in which he had himself the chief part, and gave me instructions, till the King arriving from Newmarket, we both went up into his bedchamber.

*21st October.* Dined with the Treasurer; and, after dinner, we were shut up together. I received other [further] advices, and ten paper-books of despatches and treaties; to return which again I gave a note under my hand to Mr. Joseph Williamson, Master of the Paper-office.

*31st.* I was this morning fifty years of age; the Lord teach me to number my days so as to apply them to his glory! Amen.

*4th November.* Saw the Prince of Orange,<sup>1</sup> newly come to see the King, his uncle; he has a manly, courageous, wise countenance, resembling his mother,<sup>2</sup> and the Duke of Gloucester, both deceased.

I now also saw that famous beauty, but in my opinion of a childish, simple, and baby face, Mademoiselle K  roualle,<sup>3</sup> lately Maid of Honour to Madame, and now to be so to the Queen.

*23rd.* Dined with the Earl of Arlington, where was the Venetian Ambassador, of whom I now took solemn leave, now on his return. There were also Lords Howard, Wharton, Windsor, and divers other great persons.

*24th.* I dined with the Treasurer,<sup>4</sup> where was the Earl of Rochester, a very profane wit.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> [William, Prince of Orange, afterwards William III.]

<sup>2</sup> [Mary, daughter of Charles I. and Henrietta Maria.]

<sup>3</sup> Louise-Ren  e de Penanco  t de K  roualle, 1649-1734. She had been of the suite of Madame, and came over again to entice Charles into coalition with Louis XIV.—a design which succeeded but too well. She became the King's mistress, was made Duchess of Portsmouth and Aubigny, and was his favourite till his death. [There is a beautiful portrait of her by Pierre Mignard, painted in 1682, in the National Portrait Gallery. It has been reproduced for this edition.]

<sup>4</sup> [Sir Thomas Clifford (see *ante*, p. 265).]

<sup>5</sup> [John Wilmot, second Earl of Rochester, 1647-80, whose life was afterwards written by Burnet in 1680.]

*15th December.* It was the thickest and darkest fog on the Thames that was ever known in the memory of man, and I happened to be in the very midst of it. I supped with Monsieur Zulestein, late Governor to the late Prince of Orange.

*1670-1: 10th January.* Mr. Bohun, my son's tutor, had been five years in my house, and now Bachelor of Laws, and Fellow of New College, went from me to Oxford to reside there, having well and faithfully performed his charge.<sup>1</sup>

*18th.* This day, I first acquainted his Majesty with that incomparable young man, Gibbons,<sup>2</sup> whom I had lately met with in an obscure place by mere accident, as I was walking near a poor solitary thatched house, in a field in our parish, near Sayes Court. I found him shut in; but looking in at the window, I perceived him carving that large cartoon, or crucifix, of Tintoretto, a copy of which I had myself brought from Venice, where the original painting remains. I asked if I might enter; he opened the door civilly to me, and I saw him about such a work as for the curiosity of handling, drawing, and studious exactness, I never had before seen in all my travels. I questioned him why he worked in such an obscure and lonesome place; he told me it was that he might apply himself to his profession without interruption, and wondered not a little how I found him out. I asked if he was unwilling to be made known to

<sup>1</sup> [See *ante*, p. 233.]

<sup>2</sup> [The famous wood-carver, Grinling Gibbons, 1648-1720. He was born in Rotterdam. He usually worked in lime-wood; but he also used box, oak, and pear. There are samples of his work in St. Paul's; at Cambridge (Trinity College Library); at Chatsworth, Petworth, and at many seats of the nobility. He was also a sculptor, witness the pedestal of the statue of Charles II. in the courtyard at Windsor (see *post*, under 24th July, 1680), and the bronze statue of James II., long in Whitehall Gardens, and now at the back of the Admiralty. There is a portrait of him by Kneller, engraved in mezzotint by John Smith.]

some great man, for that I believed it might turn to his profit; he answered, he was yet but a beginner, but would not be sorry to sell off that piece; on demanding the price, he said £100. In good earnest, the very frame was worth the money, there being nothing in nature so tender and delicate as the flowers and festoons about it, and yet the work was very strong; in the piece were more than one hundred figures of men, etc. I found he was likewise musical, and very civil, sober, and discreet in his discourse. There was only an old woman in the house. So, desiring leave to visit him sometimes, I went away.

Of this young artist, together with my manner of finding him out, I acquainted the King, and begged that he would give me leave to bring him and his work to Whitehall, for that I would adventure my reputation with his Majesty that he had never seen anything approach it, and that he would be exceedingly pleased, and employ him. The King said he would himself go see him. This was the first notice his Majesty ever had of Mr. Gibbons.

*20th January.* The King came to me in the Queen's withdrawing-room from the circle of ladies, to talk with me as to what advance I had made in the Dutch History.<sup>1</sup> I dined with the Treasurer, and afterwards we went to the Secretary's Office, where we conferred about divers particulars.

*21st.* I was directed to go to Sir George Downing,<sup>2</sup> who having been a public minister in Holland, at the beginning of the war, was to give me light in some material passages.

This year the weather was so wet, stormy, and unseasonable, as had not been known in many years.

<sup>1</sup> [See *ante*, p. 314.]

<sup>2</sup> [See *ante*, p. 248.]

9th February. I saw the great ball danced by the Queen and distinguished ladies at Whitehall Theatre. Next day, was acted there the famous play, called *The Siege of Granada*, two days acted successively; there were indeed very glorious scenes and perspectives, the work of Mr. Streater, who well understands it.<sup>1</sup>

19th. This day dined with me Mr. Surveyor, Dr. Christopher Wren, and Mr. Pepys, Clerk of the Acts, two extraordinary, ingenious, and knowing persons, and other friends. I carried them to see the piece of carving which I had recommended to the King.

25th. Came to visit me one of the Lords Commissioners of Scotland for the Union.

28th. The Treasurer acquainted me that his Majesty was graciously pleased to nominate me one of the Council of Foreign Plantations, and give me a salary of £500 per annum, to encourage me.

29th. I went to thank the Treasurer, who was my great friend, and loved me; I dined with him and much company, and went thence to my Lord Arlington, Secretary of State, in whose favour I likewise was upon many occasions, though I cultivated neither of their friendships by any mean submissions. I kissed his Majesty's hand, on his making me one of that new-established Council.

1st March. I caused Mr. Gibbons to bring to Whitehall his excellent piece of carving, where being come, I advertised his Majesty, who asked me where it was; I told him in Sir Richard Browne's (my father-in-law) chamber, and that if it pleased his Majesty to appoint whither it should be brought, being large and though of wood heavy, I would take care for it. "No," says the King, "show me the way, I'll go to Sir Richard's chamber," which

<sup>1</sup> Evelyn here refers to Dryden's *Conquest of Granada*. As to Streater, see *ante*, p. 211.

he immediately did, walking along the entries after me; as far as the Ewry,<sup>1</sup> till he came up into the room, where I also lay. No sooner was he entered and cast his eye on the work, but he was astonished at the curiosity of it; and having considered it a long time, and discoursed with Mr. Gibbons, whom I brought to kiss his hand, he commanded it should be immediately carried to the Queen's side to show her. It was carried up into her bedchamber, where she and the King looked on and admired it again; the King, being called away, left us with the Queen, believing she would have bought it, it being a crucifix; but, when his Majesty was gone, a French peddling woman, one Madame de Boord,<sup>2</sup> who used to bring petticoats and fans, and baubles, out of France to the ladies, began to find fault with several things in the work, which she understood no more than an ass, or a monkey, so as in a kind of indignation, I caused the person who brought it to carry it back to the chamber, finding the Queen so much governed by an ignorant Frenchwoman, and this incomparable artist had his labour only for his pains, which not a little displeased me; and he was fain to send it down to his cottage again; he not long after sold it for £80, though well worth £100, without the frame, to Sir George Viner.

His Majesty's Surveyor, Mr. Wren, faithfully promised me to employ him.<sup>3</sup> I having also bespoken his Majesty for his work at Windsor, which my friend, Mr. May, the architect there, was going to alter, and repair universally; for, on the next day, I had a fair opportunity of talking to his Majesty about it, in the lobby next the Queen's

<sup>1</sup> [Where were kept the ewers for the use of the Royal Household.]

<sup>2</sup> [M. Henri Forneron, *Louise de Kéroualle*, 1886, p. 28, calls this fatuous person "Mme. Deborde."]

<sup>3</sup> The carving of the Choir Stalls, etc., in St. Paul's Cathedral was executed by Gibbons.

side, where I presented him with some sheets of my history. I thence walked with him through St. James's Park to the garden, where I both saw and heard a very familiar discourse between . . . .<sup>1</sup> and Mrs. Nelly,<sup>2</sup> as they called an impudent comedian, she looking out of her garden on a terrace at the top of the wall, and . . . .<sup>1</sup> standing on the green walk under it. I was heartily sorry at this scene. Thence the King walked to the Duchess of Cleveland,<sup>3</sup> another lady of pleasure, and curse of our nation.

*5th March.* I dined at Greenwich, to take leave of Sir Thomas Lynch, going Governor of Jamaica.<sup>4</sup>

*10th.* To London, about passing my patent as one of the standing Council for Plantations, a considerable honour, the others in the Council being chiefly noblemen and officers of state.

*2nd April.* To Sir Thomas Clifford, the Treasurer,<sup>5</sup> to condole with him on the loss of his eldest son, who died at Florence.

*2nd May.* The French King, being now with a great army of 28,000 men about Dunkirk, divers of the grandees of that Court, and a vast number of gentlemen and cadets, in fantastical habits, came flocking over to see our Court, and compliment his Majesty. I was present, when they first were conducted into the Queen's withdrawing-room, where saluted their Majesties the Dukes of Guise,<sup>6</sup> Longueville, and many others of the first rank.

<sup>1</sup> [Charles II.]

<sup>2</sup> [Eleanor, or Nell Gwyn, 1650-87. She had, says her biographer, Peter Cunningham, from 1671 to her death, a house "in Pall Mall [south side], with a garden with a mound at the end, overlooking the Mall."]

<sup>3</sup> [At Cleveland House, St. James's.]

<sup>4</sup> [Sir Thomas Lynch, *d.* 1684. He had been Provost Marshal in 1661; Member of Council, 1663; President, 1664; and was made Governor and knighted in 1670.]

<sup>5</sup> [See *ante*, p. 265.]

<sup>6</sup> [See *ante*, vol. i. p. 125.]

10th May. Dined at Mr. Treasurer's,<sup>1</sup> in company with Monsieur De Grammont<sup>2</sup> and several French noblemen, and one Blood, that impudent bold fellow who had not long before attempted to steal the imperial crown itself out of the Tower, pretending only curiosity of seeing the regalia there, when stabbing the keeper, though not mortally, he boldly went away with it through all the guards, taken only by the accident of his horse falling down. How he came to be pardoned, and even received into favour, not only after this, but several other exploits almost as daring both in Ireland and here, I could never come to understand. Some believed he became a spy of several parties, being well with the Sectaries and Enthusiasts, and did his Majesty services that way, which none alive could do so well as he; but it was certainly the boldest attempt, so the only treason of this sort that was ever pardoned. This man had not only a daring but a villainous unmerciful look, a false countenance, but very well-spoken and dangerously insinuating.

11th. I went to Eltham to sit as one of the Commissioners about the subsidy now given by Parliament to his Majesty.

17th. Dined at Mr. Treasurer's [Sir Thomas Clifford] with the Earl of Arlington, Carlingford,<sup>3</sup> Lord Arundel of Wardour,<sup>4</sup> Lord Almoner to the

<sup>1</sup> This entry of 10th May, 1671—says Forster—so far as it relates to Blood, and the stealing of the crown, etc., is a mistake. Colonel Thomas Blood, 1618-80, stole the crown on the 9th of May, 1671—the very day before; and the “not long before” of Evelyn, and the circumstance of his being “pardoned,” which Evelyn also mentions, can hardly be said to relate to only the day before. This is another of those passages to which frequent reference has been made, and of which an explanation is suggested in the Preface to vol. i.

<sup>2</sup> [This was Philibert, Comte de Grammont (more properly Gramont), the hero of Anthony Hamilton's vivacious *Memoirs*. He died in 1707.]

<sup>3</sup> [See *ante*, p. 275.]

<sup>4</sup> [See *ante*, p. 142.]



Queen, a French Count and two abbots, with several more of French nobility; and now by something I had lately observed of Mr. Treasurer's conversation on occasion, I suspected him a little warping to Rome.

*25th May.* I dined at a feast made for me and my wife by the Trinity Company, for our passing a fine of the land which Sir R. Browne, my wife's father, freely gave to found and build their college, or Alms-houses on, at Deptford,<sup>1</sup> it being my wife's after her father's decease. It was a good and charitable work and gift, but would have been better bestowed on the poor of that parish, than on the seamen's widows, the Trinity Company being very rich, and the rest of the poor of the parish exceedingly indigent.

*26th.* The Earl of Bristol's house in Queen's Street [Lincoln's Inn Fields] was taken for the Commissioners of Trade and Plantations,<sup>2</sup> and furnished with rich hangings of the King's. It consisted of seven rooms on a floor, with a long gallery, gardens, etc. This day we met; the Duke of Buckingham, Earl of Lauderdale, Lord Colepeper, Sir George Carteret, Vice-Chamberlain, and myself, had the oaths given us by the Earl of Sandwich, our President. It was to advise and counsel his Majesty, to the best of our abilities, for the well-governing of his Foreign Plantations, etc., the form very little differing from that given to the Privy Council. We then took our places at the

<sup>1</sup> [The Deptford Almshouses erected by the Trinity House on the site given by Sir Richard Browne have long been pulled down, and a system of pensions has been established in lieu of them. But there is still a memento of Evelyn's father-in-law at the Mile End establishment of the Corporation in the shape of a scutcheon carved with Browne's arms. This was transferred from Deptford; and there is a sketch of it at p. 121 of Barrett's *Trinity House of Deptford Strand*, 1893.]

<sup>2</sup> [See *ante*, p. 319.]

Board in the Council-Chamber, a very large room furnished with atlases, maps, charts, globes, etc. Then came the Lord Keeper, Sir Orlando Bridgeman,<sup>1</sup> Earl of Arlington, Secretary of State, Lord Ashley, Mr. Treasurer, Sir John Trevor,<sup>2</sup> the other Secretary, Sir John Duncomb, Lord Allington,<sup>3</sup> Mr. Grey, son to the Lord Grey, Mr. Henry Brouncker,<sup>4</sup> Sir Humphrey Winch,<sup>5</sup> Sir John Finch,<sup>6</sup> Mr. Waller,<sup>7</sup> and Colonel Titus, of the Bedchamber,<sup>8</sup> with Mr. Slingsby, Secretary to the Council, and two Clerks of the Council, who had all been sworn some days before. Being all set, our Patent was read, and then the additional Patent, in which was recited this new establishment; then was delivered to each a copy of the Patent, and of instructions: after which, we proceeded to business.

The first thing we did was, to settle the form of a circular letter to the Governors of all his Majesty's Plantations and Territories in the West Indies and Islands thereof, to give them notice to whom they should apply themselves on all occasions, and to render us an account of their present state and government; but, what we most insisted on was, to know the condition of New England, which appearing to be very independent as to their regard to Old England, or his Majesty, rich and strong as they now were, there were great debates in what style to write to them; for the condition of that Colony was such, that they were able to contest with all other Plantations about them, and there was fear of their breaking from all dependence on

<sup>1</sup> [Sir Orlando Bridgeman, 1606-74. He was Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, 1667-72.]

<sup>2</sup> [Sir John Trevor, 1626-72; knighted in 1668.]

<sup>3</sup> [See *ante*, p. 310.]

<sup>4</sup> [Lord Brouncker's brother Henry Brouncker, *d.* 1688, afterwards third Viscount Brouncker.]

<sup>5</sup> [See *ante*, p. 220.]

<sup>7</sup> [See *ante*, vol. i. p. 317.]

<sup>6</sup> [See *ante*, p. 218.]

<sup>8</sup> [See *ante*, p. 295.]

this nation; his Majesty, therefore, commended this affair more expressly. We, therefore, thought fit, in the first place, to acquaint ourselves as well as we could of the state of that place, by some whom we heard of that were newly come from thence, and to be informed of their present posture and condition; some of our Council were for sending them a menacing letter, which those who better understood the peevish and touchy humour of that Colony, were utterly against.

A letter was then read from Sir Thomas Modyford, Governor of Jamaica; <sup>1</sup> and then the Council brake up.

Having brought an action against one Cocke, for money which he had received for me, it had been referred to an arbitration by the recommendation of that excellent good man, the Chief-Justice Hale; <sup>2</sup> but, this not succeeding, I went to advise with that famous lawyer, Mr. Jones, of Gray's Inn, and, 27th May, had a trial before Lord Chief-Justice Hale; and, after the lawyers had wrangled sufficiently, it was referred to a new arbitration. This was the very first suit at law that ever I had with any creature, and oh, that it might be the last!

*1st June.* An installation at Windsor.

*6th.* I went to Council, where was produced a most exact and ample information of the state of Jamaica, and of the best expedients as to New England, on which there was a long debate; but at length it was concluded that, if any, it should be only a conciliating paper at first, or civil letter, till

<sup>1</sup> [Sir Thomas Modyford, 1620-79, had been made Governor of Jamaica in 1664. He had been sent home under arrest this year upon an accusation of encouraging piracy.]

<sup>2</sup> Sir Matthew Hale, 1609-76, famous as one of the justices of the bench in Cromwell's time. After the Restoration, he became Chief Baron of the Exchequer; then Chief Justice of the King's Bench. [Burnet published a life of Hale in 1682; but there is an exhaustive biography by Sir John Bickerton Williams, 1835.]

we had better information of the present face of things, since we understood they were a people almost upon the very brink of renouncing any dependence on the Crown.

19th June. To a splendid dinner at the great room in Deptford Trinity House,<sup>1</sup> Sir Thomas Allen<sup>2</sup> chosen Master, and succeeding the Earl of Craven.

20th. To carry Colonel Middleton<sup>3</sup> to Whitehall, to my Lord Sandwich, our President, for some information which he was able to give of the state of the Colony in New England.

21st. To Council again, when one Colonel Cartwright, a Nottinghamshire man (formerly in commission with Colonel Nicholls), gave us a considerable relation of that country; on which the Council concluded that in the first place a letter of amnesty should be despatched.

24th. Constantine Huyghens, Seigneur de Zulichem,<sup>4</sup> that excellent learned man, poet, and musician, now near eighty years of age, a vigorous brisk man, came to take leave of me before his return into Holland with the Prince, whose Secretary he was.

26th. To Council, where Lord Arlington acquainted us, that it was his Majesty's proposal we should, every one of us, contribute £20 towards building a Council-chamber and conveniences somewhere in Whitehall, that his Majesty might come and sit amongst us, and hear our debates; the money we laid out to be reimbursed out of the contingent monies already set apart for us, viz. £1000 yearly. To this we unanimously consented. There came an uncertain bruit from Barbadoes of

<sup>1</sup> [Now pulled down.]

<sup>2</sup> [Captain Sir Thomas Allen (see *ante*, p. 228).]

<sup>3</sup> Colonel Thomas Middleton, a coadjutor of Pepys at the Navy Board, and by him styled "a most honest and understanding man." [He had been made a Commissioner in 1664.]

<sup>4</sup> [See *ante*, p. 212.]

some disorder there. On my return home I stepped in at the theatre to see the new machines for the intended scenes, which were indeed very costly and magnificent.

*29th June.* To Council, where were letters from Sir Thomas Modyford, of the expedition and exploit of Colonel Morgan,<sup>1</sup> and others of Jamaica, on the Spanish Continent at Panama.

*4th July.* To Council, where we drew up and agreed to a letter to be sent to New England, and made some proposal to Mr. Gorges, for his interest in a plantation there.

*24th.* To Council. Mr. Surveyor brought us a plot for the building of our Council-chamber, to be erected at the end of the Privy-garden, in Whitehall.

*3rd August.* A full appearance at the Council. The matter in debate was, whether we should send a deputy to New England, requiring them of the Massachusetts to restore such to their limits and respective possessions, as had petitioned the Council; this to be the open commission only; but, in truth, with secret instructions to inform us of the condition of those Colonies, and whether they were of such power, as to be able to resist his Majesty and declare for themselves as independent of the Crown, which we were told, and which of late years made them refractory. Colonel Middleton,<sup>2</sup> being called in, assured us they might be curbed by a few of his Majesty's first-rate frigates, to spoil their trade with the islands; but, though my Lord President was not satisfied, the rest were, and we did resolve to advise his Majesty to send Commissioners with a formal commission

<sup>1</sup> [See *infra*, and *post*, p. 372. Colonel Morgan (afterwards Sir Henry), 1635-88, came to England in 1672 to answer for this magnificent buccaneering exploit, and was made Lieut.-Governor of Jamaica.]

<sup>2</sup> [See *ante*, p. 326.]

for adjusting boundaries, etc., with some other instructions.

*19th August.* To Council. The letters of Sir Thomas Modyford were read, giving relation of the exploit at Panama, which was very brave; they took, burnt, and pillaged the town of vast treasures, but the best of the booty had been shipped off, and lay at anchor in the South Sea, so that, after our men had ranged the country sixty miles about, they went back to Nombre de Dios, and embarked for Jamaica. Such an action had not been done since the famous Drake.

I dined at the Hamburg Resident's, and, after dinner, went to the christening of Sir Samuel Tuke's son, Charles, at Somerset-House, by a Popish priest, and many odd ceremonies. The godfathers were the King, and Lord Arundel of Wardour,<sup>1</sup> and godmother, the Countess of Huntingdon.<sup>2</sup>

*29th.* To London, with some more papers of my progress in the Dutch War, delivered to the Treasurer.

*1st September.* Dined with the Treasurer, in company with my Lord Arlington, Halifax, and Sir Thomas Strickland;<sup>3</sup> and, next day, went home, being the anniversary of the late dreadful fire of London.

*18th.* This night fell a dreadful tempest.

*15th.* In the afternoon at Council, where letters were read from Sir Charles Wheeler,<sup>4</sup> concerning his resigning his government of St. Christopher's.

*21st.* I dined in the City, at the fraternity feast

<sup>1</sup> [See *ante*, p. 142.]

<sup>2</sup> [See *ante*, p. 308.]

<sup>3</sup> Sir Thomas Strickland, *d.* 1694. Made a baronet by Charles I. on the field at Edgehill, where he commanded a regiment of infantry. After the Restoration he was member for the County of Westmoreland, and Privy Purse to Charles II. He was subsequently one of James II.'s Privy Council, and followed him into France.

<sup>4</sup> [See *post*, under 14th November, 1671.]

in Ironmongers' Hall,<sup>1</sup> where the four stewards chose their successors for the next year, with a solemn procession, garlands about their heads, and music playing before them; so, coming up to the upper tables where the gentlemen sat, they drank to the new stewards; and so we parted.

*22nd September.* I dined at the Treasurer's, where I had discourse with Sir Henry Jones (now come over to raise a regiment of horse), concerning the French conquests in Lorraine; he told me the king sold all things to the soldiers, even to a handful of hay.

Lord Sunderland was now nominated Ambassador to Spain.<sup>2</sup>

After dinner, the Treasurer carried me to Lincoln's Inn, to one of the Parliament Clerks, to obtain of him, that I might carry home and peruse, some of the Journals, which were accordingly delivered to me to examine about the late Dutch war. Returning home, I went on shore to see the Custom-House, now newly rebuilt since the dreadful conflagration.<sup>3</sup>

*9th and 10th October.* I went, after evening-service, to London, in order to a journey of refreshment with Mr. Treasurer, to Newmarket,<sup>4</sup> where the King then was, in his coach with six brave horses, which we changed thrice, first, at Bishop Stortford, and last, at Chesterford; so, by night, we got to Newmarket, where Mr. Henry

<sup>1</sup> One of the grand court-days of that opulent Company, which is one of *twelve*.

<sup>2</sup> [Robert Spencer, second Earl of Sunderland, 1640-1702; ambassador to Spain, 1671, and Paris, 1672.]

<sup>3</sup> This new edifice was again destroyed by fire in 1718, and, again rebuilt, was a third time destroyed by fire in February 1814.

<sup>4</sup> ["Your father is gone a little journey with Mr. Treasurer, to Newmarket, and to my Lord Arlington's upon his earnest invitation" (Mrs. Evelyn to her son, October 9, 1671).]

Jermyn<sup>1</sup> (nephew to the Earl of St. Albans) lodged me very civilly. We proceeded immediately to Court, the King and all the English gallants being there at their autumnal sports.<sup>2</sup> Supped at the Lord Chamberlain's; and, the next day, after dinner, I was on the heath, where I saw the great match run between Woodcock and Flatfoot, belonging to the King, and to Mr. Eliot, of the Bedchamber, many thousands being spectators; a more signal race had not been run for many years.

This over, I went that night with Mr. Treasurer to Euston,<sup>3</sup> a palace of Lord Arlington's, where we found Monsieur Colbert (the French Ambassador), and the famous new French Maid of Honour, Mademoiselle Kéroualle,<sup>4</sup> now coming to be in great favour with the King. Here was also the Countess of Sunderland,<sup>5</sup> and several lords and ladies, who lodged in the house.

During my stay here with Lord Arlington, near a fortnight, his Majesty came almost every second

<sup>1</sup> [See *ante*, p. 272.]

<sup>2</sup> [Reresby, eleven years later, describes Charles at Newmarket, and his habits probably varied very little. "The King was so much pleased with the country, and so great a lover of the diversions which that place did afford, that he let himself down from Majesty to the very degree of a country gentleman. He mixed himself amongst the crowd, allowed every man to speak to him that pleased; went a-hawking in the mornings, to cock-matches in the afternoons (if there were no horse-races), and to plays in the evenings, acted in a barn, and by very ordinary Bartlemewfair comedians" (*Memoirs*, 1875, pp. 244-45).]

<sup>3</sup> [Euston Hall, Thetford, W. Suffolk, now belongs to the Duke of Grafton, to whose ancestor, Henry Fitzroy, first Duke, it passed with Lord Arlington's daughter Isabella (see *post*, under 1st August, 1672). Verrio's first frescoes in England were done for this house. Walpole calls it "large and bad" and built in a hole! Bloomfield, who was born in a neighbouring village, has celebrated "Euston's watered vale, and sloping plains" (*Murray's Suffolk, etc.*, 1892, p. 149).]

<sup>4</sup> See *ante*, p. 316.

<sup>5</sup> [Ann Spencer, daughter of Digby, Earl of Bristol.]



day with the Duke, who commonly returned to Newmarket, but the King often lay here, during which time I had twice the honour to sit at dinner with him, with all freedom. It was universally reported that the fair lady<sup>1</sup> — was bedded one of these nights, and the stocking flung, after the manner of a married bride; I acknowledge she was for the most part in her undress all day, and that there was fondness and toying with that young wanton; nay, it was said, I was at the former ceremony; but it is utterly false; I neither saw nor heard of any such thing whilst I was there, though I had been in her chamber, and all over that apartment late enough, and was myself observing all passages with much curiosity. However, it was with confidence believed she was first made a *Miss*, as they call these unhappy creatures, with solemnity at this time.<sup>2</sup>

On Sunday, a young Cambridge Divine preached an excellent sermon in the chapel, the King and the Duke of York being present.

16th October. Came all the great men from Newmarket, and other parts both of Suffolk and Norfolk, to make their court, the whole house filled from one end to the other with lords, ladies, and gallants; there was such a furnished table, as I had seldom seen, nor anything more splendid and free, so that for fifteen days there were entertained at least 200 people, and half as many horses, besides servants and guards, at infinite expense.

In the morning, we went hunting and hawking; in the afternoon, till almost morning, to cards and dice, yet I must say without noise, swearing,

<sup>1</sup> [Louise de Kéroualle.]

<sup>2</sup> [This seems to have been the case; and Louis XIV. ordered his Ambassador, Colbert, to congratulate Mlle. de Kéroualle (Forneron, *Louise de Kéroualle*, 1886, p. 54). Cf. also Mme. de Sévigné to her daughter, Mme. de Grignan, March 30, 1672.]

quarrel, or confusion of any sort. I, who was no gamester, had often discourse with the French Ambassador, Colbert, and went sometimes abroad on horseback with the ladies to take the air, and now and then to hunting; thus idly passing the time, but not without more often recess to my pretty apartment, where I was quite out of all this hurry, and had leisure when I would, to converse with books, for there is no man more hospitably easy to be withal than my Lord Arlington, of whose particular friendship and kindness I had ever a more than ordinary share. His house is a very noble pile, consisting of four pavilions after the French, beside a body of a large house, and, though not built altogether, but formed of additions to an old house (purchased by his Lordship of one Sir T. Rookwood), yet with a vast expense made not only capable and roomsome, but very magnificent and commodious, as well within as without, nor less splendidly furnished. The staircase is very elegant, the garden handsome, the canal beautiful, but the soil dry, barren, and miserably sandy, which flies in drifts as the wind sits. Here my Lord was pleased to advise with me about ordering his plantations of firs, elms, limes, etc., up his park, and in all other places and avenues. I persuaded him to bring his park so near as to comprehend his house within it; which he resolved upon, it being now near a mile to it. The water furnishing the fountains, is raised by a pretty engine, or very slight plain wheels, which likewise serve to grind his corn, from a small cascade of the canal, the invention of Sir Samuel Morland.<sup>1</sup> In my Lord's house, and especially above the staircase, in the great hall and some of the chambers and rooms of state, are paintings in fresco by Signor Verrio, being the first work which he did in England.

<sup>1</sup> [See *ante*, p. 276.]

17th October. My Lord Henry Howard coming this night to visit my Lord Chamberlain, and staying a day, would needs have me go with him to Norwich, promising to convey me back, after a day or two; this, as I could not refuse, I was not hard to be persuaded to, having a desire to see that famous scholar and physician, Dr. T. Browne, author of the *Religio Medici* and *Vulgar Errors*, now lately knighted.<sup>1</sup> Thither, then, went my Lord and I alone, in his flying chariot with six horses; and, by the way, discoursing with me of several of his concerns, he acquainted me of his going to marry his eldest son to one of the King's natural daughters, by the Duchess of Cleveland; by which he reckoned he should come into mighty favour. He also told me that, though he kept that idle creature, Mrs. B——,<sup>2</sup> and would leave £200 a year to the son he had by her, he would never marry her, and that the King himself had cautioned him against it. All the world knows how he kept his promise,<sup>3</sup> and I was sorry at heart to hear what now he confessed to me; and that a person and a family which I so much honoured for the sake of that noble and illustrious friend of mine, his grandfather, should dishonour and pollute them both with those base and vicious courses he of late had taken since the death of Sir Samuel Tuke,<sup>4</sup> and that of his own virtuous

<sup>1</sup> Sir Thomas Browne, 1605-82. [He was knighted in the previous September.] Beside the works mentioned by Evelyn, he was the author of *Urn Burial* and *The Garden of Cyrus*, published together in 1658.

<sup>2</sup> [Mrs. Jane Bickerton (see *post*, under 23rd January, 1678).]

<sup>3</sup> This is another of the many evidences to which attention has been drawn, that Evelyn's book partakes more of the character of *Memoirs* than a *Diary*, in the strict sense of that word. The title "*Memoirs*," indeed, is given to it by himself (see *post*, under 18th August, 1673).

<sup>4</sup> [Sir Samuel Tuke (see *ante*, pp. 17, 147, and 210) did not die until 26th January, 1674.]

lady (my Lady Anne Somerset, sister to the Marquis);<sup>1</sup> who, whilst they lived, preserved this gentleman by their example and advice from those many extravagances that impaired both his fortune and reputation.

Being come to the Ducal Palace,<sup>2</sup> my Lord made very much of me; but I had little rest, so exceedingly desirous he was to show me the contrivance he had made for the entertainment of their Majesties, and the whole Court not long before, and which, though much of it was but temporary, apparently framed of boards only, was yet standing. As to the palace, it is an old wretched building, and that part of it newly built of brick, is very ill understood; so as I was of opinion it had been much better to have demolished all, and set it up in a better place, than to proceed any further; for it stands in the very market-place, and, though near a river, yet a very narrow muddy one, without any extent.

Next morning, I went to see Sir Thomas Browne (with whom I had some time corresponded by letter, though I had never seen him before); his whole house and garden being a paradise and cabinet of rarities, and that of the best collection, especially medals, books, plants, and natural things. Amongst other curiosities, Sir Thomas had a collection of the eggs of all the fowl and birds he could procure, that country (especially the promontory

<sup>1</sup> [Lady Anne Somerset, eldest daughter of Edward, Marquess of Worcester, *d.* 1662.]

<sup>2</sup> [The Ducal Palace at Norwich had been first acquired by the Howard family in the reign of Henry VIII. It stood "in the heart of the city," and Macaulay gives a glowing account of its festivities in his famous third chapter. As stated in the text, Charles II. and his Court had just been entertained there. Lord Howard's grandson pulled it down; and the Norwich museum subsequently occupied the site. Fuller called it "the greatest house he ever saw in a city out of London."]

of Norfolk) being frequented, as he said, by several kinds which seldom or never go farther into the land, as cranes, storks, eagles, and variety of water-fowl. He led me to see all the remarkable places of this ancient city, being one of the largest, and certainly, after London, one of the noblest of England, for its venerable cathedral, number of stately churches, cleanness of the streets, and buildings of flint so exquisitely headed and squared, as I was much astonished at; but he told me they had lost the art of squaring the flints, in which they so much excelled, and of which the churches, best houses, and walls, are built. The Castle is an antique extent of ground, which now they call Marsfield, and would have been a fitting area to have placed the Ducal Palace in. The suburbs are large, the prospects sweet, with other amenities, not omitting the flower-gardens, in which all the inhabitants excel. The fabric of stuffs brings a vast trade to this populous town.

Being returned to my Lord's, who had been with me all this morning, he advised with me concerning a plot to rebuild his house, having already, as he said, erected a front next the street, and a left wing, and now resolving to set up another wing and pavilion next the garden, and to convert the bowling-green into stables. My advice was, to desist from all, and to meditate wholly on rebuilding a handsome palace at Arundel House, in the Strand, before he proceeded further here, and then to place this in the Castle, that ground belonging to his Lordship.

I observed that most of the church-yards (though some of them large enough) were filled up with earth, or rather the congestion of dead bodies one upon another, for want of earth, even to the very top of the walls, and some above the walls, so as the churches seemed to be built in pits.

18th October. I returned to Euston, in Lord Henry Howard's coach, leaving him at Norwich, in company with a very ingenious gentleman, Mr. White,<sup>1</sup> whose father and mother (daughter to the late Lord Treasurer Weston, Earl of Portland) I knew at Rome, where this gentleman was born, and where his parents lived and died with much reputation, during their banishment in our civil broils.

21st. Quitting Euston, I lodged this night at Newmarket, where I found the jolly blades racing, dancing, feasting, and revelling, more resembling a luxurious and abandoned rout, than a Christian Court. The Duke of Buckingham was now in mighty favour, and had with him that impudent woman, the Countess of Shrewsbury,<sup>2</sup> with his band of fiddlers, etc.<sup>3</sup>

Next morning, in company with Sir Bernard Gascoigne,<sup>4</sup> and Lord Hawley, I came in the Treasurer's coach to Bishop Stortford, where he gave us a noble supper. The following day, to London, and so home.

14th November. To Council, where Sir Charles

<sup>1</sup> [Nephew of the Paris philosopher, *ante*, p. 36.]

<sup>2</sup> [Anna Maria, d. 1702, daughter of Robert Brudenel, Earl of Cardigan, and second wife of Francis Talbot, eleventh Earl of Shrewsbury, who died (16th March, 1668) after a duel fought in January near Barn Elms with George Villiers, second Duke of Buckingham,—his wife, it is asserted, holding Buckingham's horse meanwhile, in the disguise of a page. For the credit of womanhood, it should, however, be added, on the authority of Lady Burghclere's careful and impartial study of Dryden's very various "Zimri," that, in 1674, Buckingham distinctly stated, when arraigned by his Peers, "that, at the time of the duel, the Countess was living in a 'French monastery,'" and the statement was not controverted (*George Villiers*, 1903, p. 195). Lady Shrewsbury eventually married George Rodney Bridges, second son of Sir Thomas Bridges, of Keynsham, Somerset.]

<sup>3</sup> ["The 'fiddlers of Thetford' were in favour with the Court at Newmarket—not for their edifying songs or behaviour" (*Murray's Suffolk, etc.*, 1897, p. 411).]

<sup>4</sup> [See *ante*, p. 310.]

Wheeler, late Governor of the Leeward Islands, having been complained of for many indiscreet managements, it was resolved, on scanning many of the particulars, to advise his Majesty to remove him; and consult what was to be done, to prevent these inconveniences he had brought things to. This business staid me in London almost a week, being in Council, or Committee, every morning till the 25th.

*27th November.* We ordered that a proclamation should be presented to his Majesty to sign, against what Sir Charles Wheeler had done in St. Christopher's since the war, on the articles of peace at Breda. He was shortly afterwards recalled.

*6th December.* Came to visit me Sir William Haywood, a great pretender to English antiquities.

*14th.* Went to see the Duke of Buckingham's ridiculous farce and rhapsody, called *The Recital*,<sup>1</sup> buffooning all plays, yet profane enough.

*23rd.* The Councillors of the Board of Trade dined together at the Cock, in Suffolk Street.<sup>2</sup>

*1671-2: 12th January.* His Majesty renewed us our lease of Sayes Court pastures for ninety-nine years, but ought, according to his solemn promise<sup>3</sup> (as I hope he will still perform), have passed them to us in fee-farm.

*23rd.* To London, in order to Sir Richard Browne, my father-in-law, resigning his place as Clerk of the Council to Joseph Williamson, Esq.,<sup>4</sup> who was admitted, and was knighted. This place his Majesty had promised to give me many years before; but, upon consideration of the renewal of

<sup>1</sup> [*The Rehearsal*. Its aim was to ridicule the fustian and absurdities of the heroic plays. It was first acted at the Theatre Royal, Drury Lane, 7th December, 1671; and published in 1672.]

<sup>2</sup> [An ordinary at the end of Suffolk Street, Charing Cross, of which there is now no trace. Pepys mentions it 15th March, and 7th and 23rd April, 1669.]

<sup>3</sup> The King's engagement, under his hand, is now at Wotton House.

<sup>4</sup> [See *ante*, p. 220.]

our lease and other reasons, I chose to part with it to Sir Joseph, who gave us and the rest of his brother-clerks a handsome supper at his house; and, after supper, a concert of music.

*3rd February.* An extraordinary snow; part of the week was taken up in consulting about the commission of prisoners of war, and instructions to our officers, in order to a second war with the Hollanders, his Majesty having made choice of the former commissioners, and myself amongst them.

*11th.* In the afternoon, that famous proselyte, Monsieur Brevall, preached at the Abbey, in English, extremely well and with much eloquence. He had been a Capuchin, but much better learned than most of that Order.

*12th.* At the Council, we entered on inquiries about improving the Plantations by silks, galls, flax, senna, etc., and considered how nutmegs and cinnamon might be obtained, and brought to Jamaica, that soil and climate promising success. Dr. Worsley<sup>1</sup> being called in, spake many considerable things to encourage it. We took order to send to the Plantations, that none of their ships should adventure homeward single, but stay for company and convoys. We also deliberated on some fit person to go as Commissioner to inspect their actions in New England, and, from time to time, report how that people stood affected.<sup>2</sup>—In future, to meet at Whitehall.

*20th.* Dr. Parr, of Camberwell,<sup>3</sup> preached a most pathetic funeral discourse and panegyric at the interment of our late pastor, Dr. Breton<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> [See *post*, under 15th October, 1673.]

<sup>2</sup> [See *ante*, p. 327.]

<sup>3</sup> [Dr. Richard Parr, 1617-91; Vicar of Reigate and Camberwell, 1653-91. His sermon was printed in this year (Manning and Bray's *Surrey*, 1804, i. 323).]

<sup>4</sup> The Rev. Robert Breton, Vicar of Deptford. See *ante*, p. 177. The Evelyns were much attached to him.]



(who died on the 18th), on "Happy is the servant whom when his Lord cometh," etc. This good man, among other expressions, professed that he had never been so touched and concerned at any loss as at this, unless at that of King Charles our Martyr, and Archbishop Ussher, whose chaplain he had been. Dr. Breton had preached on the 28th and 30th of January: on the Friday, having fasted all day, making his provisionary sermon for the Sunday following, he went well to bed; but was taken suddenly ill, and expired before help could come to him.

Never had a parish a greater loss, not only as he was an excellent preacher, and fitted for our great and vulgar auditory, but for his excellent life and charity, his meekness and obliging nature, industrious, helpful, and full of good works. He left near £400 to the poor in his will, and that what children of his should die in their minority, their portion should be so employed. I lost in particular a special friend, and one that had an extraordinary love to me and mine.

*25th February.* To London, to speak with the Bishop, and Sir John Cutler,<sup>1</sup> our patron, to present Mr. Frampton<sup>2</sup> (afterwards Bishop of Gloucester).

*1st March.* A full Council of Plantations, on the danger of the Leeward Islands, threatened by the French, who had taken some of our ships, and began to interrupt our trade. Also in debate, whether the new Governor of St. Christopher's should be subordinate to the Governor of Barbadoes. The debate was serious and long.

*12th.* Now was the first blow given by us to the Dutch convoy of the Smyrna fleet, by Sir Robert Holmes<sup>3</sup> and Lord Ossory, in which we

<sup>1</sup> [See *ante*, p. 137.]

<sup>2</sup> [Dr. Robert Frampton, 1622-1708, afterwards one of the seven Bishops of 1688.]

<sup>3</sup> [See *ante*, p. 296.]

received little save blows, and a worthy reproach for attacking our neighbours ere any war was proclaimed, and then pretending the occasion to be, that some time before, the *Merlin* yacht chancing to sail through the whole Dutch fleet, their Admiral did not strike to that trifling vessel. Surely, this was a quarrel slenderly grounded, and not becoming Christian neighbours. We are like to thrive, accordingly. Lord Ossory several times deplored to me his being engaged in it; he had more justice and honour than in the least to approve of it, though he had been over-persuaded to the expedition. There is no doubt but we should have surprised this exceeding rich fleet, had not the avarice and ambition of Holmes and Spragge<sup>1</sup> separated themselves, and wilfully divided our fleet, on presumption that either of them was strong enough to deal with the Dutch convoy without joining and mutual help; but they so warmly plied our divided fleets, that whilst in conflict the merchants sailed away, and got safe into Holland.

A few days before this, the Treasurer of the Household, Sir Thomas Clifford,<sup>2</sup> hinted to me, as a confidant, that his Majesty would *shut up the Exchequer* (and, accordingly, his Majesty made use of infinite treasure there, to prepare for an intended rupture);<sup>3</sup> but, says he, it will soon be open again, and everybody satisfied; for this bold man, who had been the sole adviser of the King to invade that sacred stock (though some pretend it was Lord Ashley's counsel, then Chancellor of the

<sup>1</sup> [Admiral Sir Edward Spragge, *d.* 1673.]

<sup>2</sup> [See *ante*, p. 265.]

<sup>3</sup> On the 2nd January, 1672, Charles seized upon the Goldsmiths' funds in the Exchequer to provide money for the war with the Dutch, which, in pursuance of the Treaty of Dover (see *ante*, p. 306), was declared 17th March following.]

Exchequer), was so over-confident of the success of this unworthy design against the Smyrna merchants, as to put his Majesty on an action which not only lost the hearts of his subjects, and ruined many widows and orphans, whose stocks were lent him, but the reputation of his Exchequer for ever, it being before in such credit, that he might have commanded half the wealth of the nation.

The credit of this bank being thus broken, did exceedingly discontent the people, and never did his Majesty's affairs prosper to any purpose after it, for as it did not supply the expense of the meditated war, so it melted away, I know not how.

To this succeeded the King's Declaration for an universal toleration;<sup>1</sup> Papists, and swarms of Sectaries, now boldly showing themselves in their public meetings. This was imputed to the same counsel, Clifford warping to Rome as was believed, nor was Lord Arlington clear of suspicion, to gratify that party, but as since it has proved, and was then evidently foreseen, to the extreme weakening the Church of England and its Episcopal Government, as it was projected. I speak not this as my own sense, but what was the discourse and thoughts of others, who were lookers-on; for I think there might be some relaxations without the least prejudice to the present Establishment, discreetly limited, but to let go the reins in this manner, and then to imagine they could take them up again as easily, was a false policy, and greatly destructive. The truth is, our Bishops slipped the occasion; for, had they held a steady hand upon his Majesty's restoration, as they might easily have done, the Church of England had emerged and flourished, without interruption; but they were

<sup>1</sup> [The Declaration of Indulgence dispensing with the laws against Nonconformists, March 15, 1672.]

then remiss, and covetous after advantages of another kind, whilst his Majesty suffered them to come into a harvest, with which, without any injustice, he might have remunerated innumerable gallant gentlemen for their services, who had ruined themselves in the late rebellion.<sup>1</sup>

*21st March.* I visited the coasts in my district of Kent, and divers wounded and languishing poor men, that had been in the Smyrna conflict. I went over to see the new-begun Fort of Tilbury; a royal work, indeed, and such as will one day bridle a great city to the purpose, before they are aware.

*23rd.* Captain Cox,<sup>2</sup> one of the Commissioners of the Navy, furnishing me with a yacht, I sailed to Sheerness to see that fort also, now newly finished; several places on both sides the Swale and Medway to Gillingham and Upnor, being also provided with redoubts and batteries, to secure the station of our men-of-war at Chatham, and shut the door when the steeds were stolen.

*24th.* I saw the chirurgeon cut off the leg of a wounded sailor, the stout and gallant man enduring it with incredible patience, without being bound to his chair, as usual on such painful occasions. I had hardly courage enough to be present. Not being cut off high enough, the gangrene prevailed, and the second operation cost the poor creature his life.

Lord! what miseries are mortal men subject to, and what confusion and mischief do the avarice, anger, and ambition of Princes, cause in the world!

*25th.* I proceeded to Canterbury, Dover, Deal, the Isle of Thanet, by Sandwich, and so to

<sup>1</sup> Evelyn here refers to the fines for renewals of leases not filled up during the interregnum, and now to be immediately applied for.

<sup>2</sup> [Of the *Charles the Second* (see *ante*, p. 287 n.).]

Margate. Here we had abundance of miserably wounded men, his Majesty sending his chief surgeon, Serjeant Knight, to meet me, and Dr. Waldron had attended me all the journey. Having taken order for the accommodation of the wounded, I came back through a country the best cultivated of any that in my life I had anywhere seen, every field lying as even as a bowling-green, and the fences, plantations, and husbandry, in such admirable order, as infinitely delighted me, after the sad and afflicting spectacles and objects I was come from. Observing almost every tall tree to have a weathercock on the top bough, and some trees half-a-dozen, I learned that, on a certain holyday, the farmers feast their servants; at which solemnity, they set up these cocks, in a kind of triumph.

Being come back towards Rochester, I went to take order respecting the building a strong and high wall about a house I had hired of a gentleman, at a place called Hartlip, for a prison, paying £50 yearly rent. Here I settled a Provost-Marshal and other officers, returning by Faversham. On the 80th, heard a sermon in Rochester Cathedral, and so got to Sayes Court on the first of April.<sup>1</sup>

*4th April.* I went to see the fopperies of the Papists at Somerset House and York House, where now the French Ambassador had caused to be represented our Blessed Saviour at the Pascal Supper with his Disciples, in figures and puppets made as big as the life, of wax-work, curiously clad and sitting round a large table, the room nobly hung, and shining with innumerable lamps

<sup>1</sup> [Mrs. Evelyn mentions this tour of inspection in one of her letters. "Mr. Evelyn is at present taking care of those that fall by the hands of the Dutch, being gone to visit Chatham and Dover, and the rest of those places where sick and prisoners put in; Jack is with him" (Letter to Lady Ann Carr, March 26, 1672).]

and candles: this was exposed to all the world; all the City came to see it. Such liberty had the Roman Catholics at this time obtained.

16th *April*. Sat in Council, preparing Lord Willoughby's<sup>1</sup> commission and instructions as Governor of Barbadoes and the Caribbee Islands.

17th. Sat on business in the Star Chamber.

19th. At Council, preparing instructions for Colonel Stapleton, how to go Governor of St. Christopher's; and heard the complaints of the Jamaica merchants against the Spaniards, for hindering them from cutting logwood on the mainland, where they have no pretence.

21st. To my Lord of Canterbury, to entreat him to engage Sir John Cutler, the patron, to provide us a grave and learned man, in opposition to a novice.

30th. Congratulated Mr. Treasurer Clifford's new honour being made a Baron.<sup>2</sup>

2nd *May*. My son, John, was specially admitted of the Middle Temple by Sir Francis North, his Majesty's Solicitor-General, and since Chancellor.<sup>3</sup> I pray God bless this beginning, my intention being that he should seriously apply himself to the study of the law.

10th. I was ordered, by letter from the Council, to repair forthwith to his Majesty, whom I found in the Pall-Mall, in St. James's Park, where his Majesty coming to me from the company, commanded me to go immediately to the sea-coast, and to observe the motion of the Dutch fleet and ours, the Duke and so many of the flower of our nation being now under sail, coming from Ports-

<sup>1</sup> [William Willoughby, sixth Baron Willoughby of Parham, d. 1678. He had succeeded his brother Francis in 1667, as Governor of Barbados and the Caribbee Islands.]

<sup>2</sup> [See *ante*, p. 340.]

<sup>3</sup> [Sir Francis North, 1637-85, afterwards first Baron Guildford (see *post*, under 7th February, 1684).:]

mouth, through the Downs, where it was believed there might be an encounter.

*11th May.* Went to Chatham.—*12th.* Heard a sermon in Rochester Cathedral.

*13th.* To Canterbury; visited Dr. Bargrave,<sup>1</sup> my old fellow-traveller in Italy, and great virtuoso.

*14th.* To Dover; but the fleet did not appear till the 16th, when the Duke of York with his and the French squadron, in all 170 ships (of which above 100 were men-of-war), sailed by, after the Dutch, who were newly withdrawn. Such a gallant and formidable navy never, I think, spread sail upon the seas. It was a goodly yet terrible sight, to behold them as I did, passing eastward by the straits betwixt Dover and Calais in a glorious day. The wind was yet so high, that I could not well go aboard, and they were soon got out of sight. The next day, having visited our prisoners and the Castle, and saluted the Governor, I took horse for Margate. Here, from the North Foreland Lighthouse top (which is a Pharos, built of brick, and having on the top a cradle of iron, in which a man attends a great sea-coal fire all the year long, when the nights are dark, for the safeguard of sailors), we could see our fleet as they lay at anchor. The next morning, they weighed, and sailed out of sight to the N.E.

*19th.* Went to Margate; and, the following day, was carried to see a gallant widow, brought up a farmeress, and I think of gigantic race, rich, comely, and exceedingly industrious. She put me in mind of Deborah and Abigail, her house was so plentifully stored with all manner of country-provisions, all of her own growth, and all her conveniences so substantial, neat, and well understood;

<sup>1</sup> [Dr. John Bargrave, 1610-80, Baron of Canterbury. He has not been mentioned previously; but he travelled on the Continent till the Restoration.]

she herself so jolly and hospitable ; and her land so trim and rarely husbanded, that it struck me with admiration at her economy.

This town much consists of brewers of a certain heady ale, and they deal much in malt, etc. For the rest, it is raggedly built, and has an ill haven, with a small fort of little concernment, nor is the island [Thanet] well disciplined ; but as to the husbandry and rural part, far exceeding any part of England for the accurate culture of their ground, in which they exceed, even to curiosity and emulation.

We passed by Richborough, and in sight of Reculvers, and so through a sweet garden, as it were, to Canterbury.

*24th May.* To London, and gave his Majesty an account of my journey, and that I had put all things in readiness upon all events, and so returned home sufficiently wearied.

*31st.* I received another command to repair to the sea-side ; so I went to Rochester, where I found many wounded, sick, and prisoners, newly put on shore after the engagement on the 28th,<sup>1</sup> in which the Earl of Sandwich, that incomparable person and my particular friend, and divers more whom I loved, were lost. My Lord (who was Admiral of the Blue) was in the *Prince*, which was burnt, one of the best men-of-war that ever spread canvass on the sea. There were lost with this brave man, a son of Sir Charles Cotterell (Master of the Ceremonies), and a son of Sir Charles Harbord (his Majesty's Surveyor-General), two valiant and most accomplished youths, full of virtue and courage, who might have saved themselves ; but chose to perish with my Lord, whom they honoured and loved above their own lives.

<sup>1</sup> [This was the defeat by the Duke of York of the Dutch under De Ruyter in Southwold, or Sole Bay.]



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*Edward Montagu, first Earl of Sandwich. K.G.*

Here, I cannot but make some reflections on things past. It was not above a day or two that I was going to Venice, to take leave of his Grace, upon who had been Secretary to the Privy-Council, since I came by the sea, and to bid him good-bye, and bid him thought he should see me no more, and I saw, to my thinking, some change in his countenance. "No," says he, "I shall not lose my life." "Hark! I lost a fleet" (we were then returning from Bergen), when he took the Fleet, and I should have fared better; but, he said, "I must do something, I know not how, to save my reputation." Something he did, to effect the business of the war; thus I took my leave. I would not have thought the Duke of Albemarle, and my new friend, had, I know not why, so great opinion of his courage, because in former conflicts, being young and experienced seaman (which neither of us were), he always brought off his Majesty's ships without loss, though not without as many marks of true courage as the stoutest of them; and I am a witness that, in the late war, his own ship was pierced like a colander. But the business was, he was utterly against this war from the beginning, and he was the attacking of the Sinyra, and he was the favour the hearty expedition of a fleet, and he was not so furious and courageous as the Duke of Albemarle, who believed he could beat the Hollanders with one squadron.<sup>1</sup> Lord Sandwich was prudent as well as valiant, and he governed his affairs with success and little loss. It was for deliberation and reason, they for action and slaughter without either; and for this, why, as if my Lord Sandwich was not so gentlemanly, he was not so rash, and would not have lost a fleet, such as was the fleet of the Duke of Albemarle, and

<sup>1</sup> [See *ante*, p. 204.]

<sup>2</sup> [See *ante*, p. 204.]



*Edward Montagu, 1st Earl of Sandwich. 1726*

Here, I cannot but make some reflections on things past. It was not above a day or two that going to Whitehall to take leave of his Lordship, who had his lodgings in the Privy-Garden, shaking me by the hand he bid me good-bye, and said he thought he should see me no more, and I saw, to my thinking, something boding in his countenance. "No," says he, "they will not have me live. Had I lost a fleet" (meaning on his return from Bergen when he took the East India prize)<sup>1</sup> "I should have fared better; but, be as it pleases God—I must do something, I know not what, to save my reputation." Something to this effect, he had hinted to me; thus I took my leave. I well remember that the Duke of Albemarle, and my now Lord Clifford, had, I know not why, no great opinion of his courage, because in former conflicts, being an able and experienced seaman (which neither of them were), he always brought off his Majesty's ships without loss, though not without as many marks of true courage as the stoutest of them; and I am a witness that, in the late war, his own ship was pierced like a colander. But the business was, he was utterly against this war from the beginning, and abhorred the attacking of the Smyrna fleet;<sup>2</sup> he did not favour the heady expedition of Clifford at Bergen, nor was he so furious and confident as was the Duke of Albemarle, who believed he could vanquish the Hollanders with one squadron.<sup>3</sup> My Lord Sandwich was prudent as well as valiant, and always governed his affairs with success and little loss; he was for deliberation and reason, they for action and slaughter without either; and for this, whispered as if my Lord Sandwich was not so gallant, because he was not so rash, and knew how fatal it was to lose a fleet, such as was that under his conduct, and

<sup>1</sup> [See *ante*, p. 234.]

<sup>2</sup> [See *ante*, p. 339.]

<sup>3</sup> [See *ante*, p. 238.]

for which these very persons would have censured him on the other side. This it was, I am confident, grieved him, and made him enter like a lion, and fight like one, too, in the midst of the hottest service, where the stoutest of the rest seeing him engaged, and so many ships upon him, durst not, or would not, come to his succour, as some of them, whom I know, might have done. Thus, this gallant person perished, to gratify the pride and envy of some I named.

Deplorable was the loss of one of the best accomplished persons, not only of this nation but of any other. He was learned in sea-affairs, in politics, in mathematics, and in music: he had been on divers embassies, was of a sweet and obliging temper, sober, chaste, very ingenious, a true nobleman, an ornament to the Court and his Prince; nor has he left any behind him who approach his many virtues.

He had, I confess, served the tyrant Cromwell, when a young man, but it was without malice, as a soldier of fortune; and he readily submitted, and that with joy, bringing an entire fleet with him from the Sound, at the first tidings of his Majesty's restoration. I verily believe him as faithful a subject as any that were not his friends. I am yet heartily grieved at this mighty loss, nor do I call it to my thoughts without emotion.

*2nd June.* Trinity-Sunday I passed at Rochester; and, on the 5th, there was buried in the Cathedral Monsieur Rabinière, Rear-Admiral of the French squadron, a gallant person, who died of the wounds he received in the fight. This ceremony lay on me, which I performed with all the decency I could, inviting the Mayor and Aldermen to come in their formalities. Sir Jonas Atkins<sup>1</sup> was there

<sup>1</sup> [Sir Jonathan Atkins (see *post*, under 27th October, 1673).]

with his guards; and the Dean and Prebendaries: one of his countrymen pronouncing a funeral oration at the brink of his grave, which I caused to be dug in the choir. This is more at large described in the Gazette of that day; Colonel Rheymes,<sup>1</sup> my colleague in commission, assisting, who was so kind as to accompany me from London, though it was not his district; for indeed the stress of both these wars lay more on me by far than on any of my brethren, who had little to do in theirs.—I went to see Upnor Castle, which I found pretty well defended, but of no great moment.

Next day, I sailed to the fleet, now riding at the Buoy of the Nore, where I met his Majesty, the Duke, Lord Arlington, and all the great men, in the *Charles*, lying miserably shattered; but the miss of Lord Sandwich redoubled the loss to me, and showed the folly of hazarding so brave a fleet, and losing so many good men, for no provocation but that the Hollanders exceeded us in industry, and in all things but envy.

At Sheerness, I gave his Majesty and his Royal Highness an account of my charge, and returned to Queenborough; next day, dined at Major Dorel's, Governor of Sheerness; thence, to Rochester; and the following day, home.

12th June. To London to his Majesty, to solicit for money for the sick and wounded, which he promised me.

19th. To London again, to solicit the same.

21st. At a Council of Plantations. Most of this week busied with the sick and wounded.

3rd July. To Lord Sandwich's funeral, which was by water to Westminster, in solemn pomp.

31st. I entertained the Maids of Honour (among whom there was one I infinitely esteemed for her

<sup>1</sup> [Colonel Bullein Rheymes (see *ante*, p. 218).]

many and extraordinary virtues<sup>1</sup>) at a comedy this afternoon, and so went home.

*1st August.* I was at the marriage of Lord Arlington's only daughter (a sweet child if ever there was any<sup>2</sup>) to the Duke of Grafton, the King's natural son by the Duchess of Cleveland; the Archbishop of Canterbury officiating, the King and all the grandees being present. I had a favour given me by my Lady; but took no great joy at the thing for many reasons.

*18th.* Sir James Hayes, Secretary to Prince Rupert, dined with me: after dinner, I was sent for to Gravesend to dispose of no fewer than 800 sick men. That night, I got to the fleet at the Buoy of the Nore, where I spake with the King and the Duke; and, after dinner next day, returned to Gravesend.

*1st September.* I spent this week in soliciting for moneys, and in reading to my Lord Clifford my papers relating to the first Holland war.—Now, our Council of Plantations met at Lord Shaftesbury's (Chancellor of the Exchequer) to read and reform the draught of our new Patent, joining the Council of Trade to our political capacities. After this, I returned home, in order to another excursion to the sea-side, to get as many as possible of the men who were recovered on board the fleet.

*8th.* I lay at Gravesend, thence to Rochester, returning on the 11th.

*15th.* Dr. Duport, Greek Professor of Cambridge,<sup>3</sup> preached before the King on 1 Timothy vi. 6. No great preacher, but a very worthy and learned man.

<sup>1</sup> Mrs. Blagge, whom Evelyn never wearied of instancing as a rare example of piety and virtue, in a licentious court and depraved age (see *ante*, p. 297).

<sup>2</sup> [Isabella Bennet, through whom Euston Hall (see *ante*, p. 332) came to the first Duke of Grafton. She was then only five years old and her husband nine (see *post*, under 6th November, 1679).]

<sup>3</sup> [See *ante*, p. 169.]



*25th September.* I dined at Lord John Berkeley's,<sup>1</sup> newly arrived out of Ireland, where he had been Deputy ; it was in his new house,<sup>2</sup> or rather palace ; for I am assured it stood him in near £80,000. It is very well built, and has many noble rooms, but they are not very convenient, consisting but of one *Corps de Logis* ; they are all rooms of state, without closets. The staircase is of cedar, the furniture is princely : the kitchen and stables are ill-placed, and the corridor worse, having no report to the wings they join to. For the rest, the fore-court is noble, so are the stables ; and, above all, the gardens, which are incomparable by reason of the inequality of the ground, and a pretty piscina. The holly hedges on the terrace I advised the planting of. The porticoes are in imitation of a house described by Palladio ; but it happens to be the worst in his book, though my good friend, Mr. Hugh May,<sup>3</sup> his Lordship's architect, effected it.

*26th.* I carried with me to dinner my Lord H. Howard (now to be made Earl of Norwich and Earl Marshal of England) to Sir Robert Clayton's, now Sheriff of London, at his new house,<sup>4</sup> where we had a great feast ; it is built indeed for a great magistrate, at excessive cost. The cedar dining-room is painted with the history of the Giants' War, incomparably done by Mr. Streater, but the figures are too near the eye.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> [See *ante*, p. 248.]

<sup>2</sup> [See *ante*, p. 243.]

<sup>3</sup> See *ante*, p. 214.

<sup>4</sup> See *ante*, p. 117. Sir Robert's house, which he built to keep his shrievalty, was in the Old Jewry. Afterwards for some years it was the residence of Mr. Samuel Sharp, a famous surgeon in his time, and was then occupied (from 1806 to the close of the year 1811) by the London Institution, for their library and reading-rooms.

<sup>5</sup> [These paintings were later transferred to Marden Park, six miles south of Croydon, which Sir Robert Clayton bought in 1677 from Evelyn's cousin Sir John Evelyn of Godstone.]

6th October. Dr. Thistlethwait preached at Whitehall on Rev. v. 2,—a young, but good preacher. I received the blessed Communion, Dr. Blandford, Bishop of Worcester, and Dean of the Chapel, officiating.<sup>1</sup> Dined at my Lord Clifford's, with Lord Mulgrave,<sup>2</sup> Sir Gilbert Talbot,<sup>3</sup> and Sir Robert Holmes.

8th. I took leave of my Lady Sunderland,<sup>4</sup> who was going to Paris to my Lord, now ambassador there. She made me stay dinner at Leicester-House,<sup>5</sup> and afterwards sent for Richardson, the famous fire-eater.<sup>6</sup> He devoured brimstone on glowing coals before us, chewing and swallowing them; he melted a beer-glass and eat it quite up; then taking a live coal on his tongue, he put on it a raw oyster, the coal was blown on with bellows till it flamed and sparkled in his mouth, and so remained till the oyster gaped and was quite boiled. Then, he melted pitch and wax with sulphur, which he drank down, as it flamed; I saw it flaming in his mouth, a good while; he also took up a thick piece of iron, such as laundresses use to put in their smoothing boxes, when it was fiery hot, held it between his teeth, then in his hand, and threw it about like a stone; but this I observed, he cared not to hold very long; then, he stood on a small pot; and bending his body, took a glowing iron with his mouth from between his feet, without

<sup>1</sup> [Dr. Walter Blandford, 1619-75; Bishop of Worcester, 1671-75.]

<sup>2</sup> [John Sheffield, third Earl of Mulgrave, 1648-1721.]

<sup>3</sup> [See *ante*, p. 192.]

<sup>4</sup> [See *ante*, pp. 329, 330.]

<sup>5</sup> Then a handsome brick building, on the north side of Leicester-Fields, which many years later, in 1708, was occupied by the German Ambassador, having been let to him by the Earl of Leicester. [It was pulled down in 1790.]

<sup>6</sup> [There is an account of Richardson's not now miraculous feats in the *Journal des Sçavans* for 1680.]

touching the pot, or ground, with his hands; with divers other prodigious feats.

*13th October.* After sermon (being summoned before), I went to my Lord Keeper's, Sir Orlando Bridgeman, at Essex House,<sup>1</sup> where our new patent was opened and read, constituting us that were of the Council of Plantations, to be now of the Council of Trade also, both united. After the patent was read, we all took our oaths, and departed.

*24th.* Met in Council, the Earl of Shaftesbury,<sup>2</sup> now our President, swearing our Secretary and his clerks, which was Mr. Locke,<sup>3</sup> an excellent learned gentleman and student of Christ Church, Mr. Lloyd, and Mr. Frowde.<sup>4</sup> We despatched a letter to Sir Thomas Lynch, Governor of Jamaica,<sup>5</sup> giving him notice of a design of the Dutch on that island.

*27th.* I went to hear that famous preacher, Dr. Frampton,<sup>6</sup> at St. Giles, on Psalm xxxix. 6. This divine had been twice at Jerusalem, and was not only a very pious and holy man, but excellent in the pulpit for the moving affections.

*8th November.* At Council, we debated the business of the consulate of Leghorn. I was of the Committee with Sir Humphry Winch,<sup>7</sup> the chairman, to examine the laws of his Majesty's several plantations and colonies in the West Indies, etc.

<sup>1</sup> "A large, but ugly house"—says Pepys (24th January, 1669), which stood near St. Clement Danes Church in the Strand, and of which the site is still commemorated in Essex Street, Essex Court, and Devereux Court.

<sup>2</sup> [See *ante*, p. 292.]

<sup>3</sup> [John Locke, 1632-1704. He was Secretary to the reconstructed Council of Trade between 1673 and 1675. When Lord Shaftesbury withdrew to Holland in 1682 Locke followed him, for which he was deprived of his student's place by an order from the King.]

<sup>4</sup> [Mr. Locke's clerk.]

<sup>6</sup> [See *ante*, p. 339.]

<sup>5</sup> [See *ante*, p. 321.]

<sup>7</sup> [See *ante*, p. 220.]

15th November. Many merchants were summoned about the consulate of Venice; which caused great disputes; the most considerable thought it useless. This being the Queen Consort's birthday, there was an extraordinary appearance of gallantry, and a ball danced at Court.

30th. I was chosen Secretary to the Royal Society.

21st December. Settled the consulate of Venice.

1672-8: 1st January. After public prayers in the chapel at Whitehall, when I gave God solemn thanks for all his mercies to me the year past, and my humble supplications to him for his blessing the year now entering, I returned home, having my poor deceased servant (Adams) to bury, who died of a pleurisy.

3rd. My son now published his version of "*Rapinus Hortorum*."<sup>1</sup>

28th. Visited Don Francisco de Melos, the Portugal Ambassador,<sup>2</sup> who showed me his curious collection of books and pictures. He was a person of good parts, and a virtuous man.

6th February. To Council about reforming an abuse of the dyers with *saundus*,<sup>3</sup> and other false drugs; examined divers of that trade.

23rd. The Bishop of Chichester<sup>4</sup> preached before the King on Coloss. ii. 14, 15, admirably well, as he can do nothing but what is well.

<sup>1</sup> "*Of Gardens, in Four Books*. Originally written in Latin verse, by Renatus Rapinus, and now made English. By I. E. London, 1678. Dedicated to Henry, Earl of Arlington, etc. etc. etc." The Dedication is reprinted in Evelyn's *Miscellaneous Writings*, pp. 623, 624.

<sup>2</sup> [See *ante*, p. 271.]

<sup>3</sup> [Query,—Saunders, Sandalwood.]

<sup>4</sup> Dr. Peter Gunning, 1614-84, who held the Mastership of St. John's College, Cambridge, and afterwards the Bishopric of Ely. Burnet, *Hist. of His Own Time*, 1724, i. 590, says of him that he was a man of great reading, but "a dark and perplexed preacher."

*5th March.* Our new vicar,<sup>1</sup> Mr. Holden, preached in Whitehall chapel, on Psalm iv. 6, 7. This gentleman is a very excellent and universal scholar, a good and wise man; but he had not the popular way of preaching, nor is in any measure fit for our plain and vulgar auditory, as his predecessor was. There was, however, no comparison betwixt their parts for profound learning. But time and experience may form him to a more practical way than that he is in of University lectures and erudition; which is now universally left off for what is much more profitable.

*15th.* I heard the speech made to the Lords in their House by Sir Samuel Tuke, in behalf of the Papists, to take off the penal laws; and then dined with Colonel Norwood.

*16th.* Dr. Pearson, Bishop of Chester,<sup>2</sup> preached on Hebrews ix. 14; a most incomparable sermon from one of the most learned divines of our nation. I dined at my Lord Arlington's with the Duke and Duchess of Monmouth;<sup>3</sup> she is one of the wisest and craftiest of her sex, and has much wit. Here was also the learned Isaac Vossius.<sup>4</sup>

During Lent, there is constantly the most excellent preaching by the most eminent bishops and divines of the nation.

*26th.* I was sworn a younger brother of the Trinity-House, with my most worthy and long-acquainted noble friend, Lord Ossory (eldest son

<sup>1</sup> [*I.e.* Richard Holden, M.A., of Deptford, *d.* 1700. "A learn'd man," Evelyn calls him in another place. He succeeded Dr. Breton (see *ante*, p. 338).]

<sup>2</sup> [See *ante*, p. 64.]

<sup>3</sup> [Anne Scott, Countess of Buccleuch in her own right.]

<sup>4</sup> [Isaac Vossius, 1618-89, son of J. G. Vos, Canon of Canterbury.] On coming to England, Charles II. gave him a canonry at Windsor, and the University of Oxford conferred on him the degree of Doctor of Laws. It was said of him by the King, "He is a strange man for a divine; there is nothing he refuses to believe, but the Bible."

to the Duke of Ormonde), Sir Richard Browne, my father-in-law, being now Master of that Society; after which there was a great collation.

*29th March.* I carried my son to the Bishop of Chichester, that learned and pious man, Dr. Peter Gunning,<sup>1</sup> to be instructed by him before he received the Holy Sacrament, when he gave him most excellent advice, which I pray God may influence and remain with him as long as he lives; and oh that I had been so blessed and instructed, when first I was admitted to that sacred ordinance!

*30th. Easter-Day.* Myself and son received the blessed Communion, it being his first time, and with that whole week's more extraordinary preparation. I beseech God to make him a sincere good Christian, whilst I endeavour to instil into him the fear and love of God, and discharge the duty of a father.

At the sermon *coram Rege*, preached by Dr. Sparrow, Bishop of Exeter,<sup>2</sup> to a most crowded auditory; I staid to see whether, according to custom, the Duke of York received the Communion with the King; but he did not, to the amazement of everybody. This being the second year he had forborne,<sup>3</sup> and put it off, and within a day of the Parliament sitting, who had lately made so severe an Act against the increase of Popery, gave exceeding grief and scandal to the whole nation, that the heir of it, and the son of a martyr for the Protestant religion, should apostatise. What the consequence of this will be, God only knows, and wise men dread.

*11th April.* I dined with the plenipotentiaries designed for the treaty of Nimeguen.

*17th.* I carried Lady Tuke to thank the

<sup>1</sup> [See *supra*, p. 354.]

<sup>2</sup> [Dr. Anthony Sparrow, 1612-85; Bishop of Exeter, 1667-76.]

<sup>3</sup> [Cf. Clarke's *Life of James the Second*, 1816, i. pp. 482-83.]

Countess of Arlington for speaking to his Majesty in her behalf, for being one of the Queen-Consort's women. She carried us up into her new dressing-room at Goring House,<sup>1</sup> where was a bed, two glasses, silver jars, and vases, cabinets, and other so rich furniture as I had seldom seen; to this excess of superfluity were we now arrived and that not only at Court, but almost universally, even to wantonness and profusion.

Dr. Compton, brother to the Earl of Northampton, preached on 1 Corinth. v. 11-16, showing the Church's power in ordaining things indifferent; this worthy person's talent is not preaching, but he is like to make a grave and serious good man.<sup>2</sup>

I saw her Majesty's rich toilet in her dressing-room, being all of massy gold, presented to her by the King, valued at £4000.

*26th April.* Dr. Lamplugh<sup>3</sup> preached at St. Martin's, the Holy Sacrament following, which I partook of, upon obligation of the late Act of Parliament,<sup>4</sup> enjoining everybody in office, civil or military, under penalty of £500, to receive it within one month before two authentic witnesses; being engrossed on parchment, to be afterwards produced in the Court of Chancery, or some other Court of Record; which I did at the Chancery-bar, as being one of the Council of Plantations and Trade; taking then also the oath of allegiance and supremacy, signing the clause in the said Act against Transubstantiation.

*25th May.* My son was made a younger brother of the Trinity-House. The new master was Sir

<sup>1</sup> [See *ante*, pp. 226, 295.]

<sup>2</sup> [See *ante*, p. 299.]

<sup>3</sup> [Dr. Thomas Lamplugh, 1615-91, afterwards Archbishop of York.]

<sup>4</sup> [The Test Act, 25 Car. II. c. 2, by which no one who would not take the Sacrament according to the rites of the Church of England could hold office under the Crown.]

Jer. Smith,<sup>1</sup> one of the Commissioners of the Navy, a stout seaman, who had interposed and saved the Duke from perishing by a fire-ship in the late war.

28th May. I carried one Withers, an ingenious shipwright, to the King, to show him some new method of building.

29th. I saw the Italian comedy at the Court, this afternoon.

10th June. Came to visit and dine with me my Lord Viscount Cornbury and his Lady; Lady Frances Hyde, sister to the Duchess of York; and Mrs. Dorothy Howard, Maid of Honour.<sup>2</sup> We went, after dinner, to see the formal and formidable camp on Blackheath,<sup>3</sup> raised to invade Holland; or, as others suspected, for another design. Thence, to the Italian glass-house at Greenwich, where glass was blown of finer metal than that of Murano, at Venice.

18th. Came to visit us, with other ladies of rank, Mrs. Sedley,<sup>4</sup> daughter to Sir Charles, who was none of the most virtuous, but a wit.

19th. Congratulated the new Lord Treasurer, Sir Thomas Osborne,<sup>5</sup> a gentleman with whom I had been intimately acquainted at Paris, and who was every day at my father-in-law's house and table there; on which account, I was too confident of succeeding in his favour, as I had done in his predecessor's; but such a friend shall I never find, and I neglected my time, far from believing that

<sup>1</sup> [Admiral Sir Jeremiah Smith, *d.* 1675. He is often mentioned by Pepys.]

<sup>2</sup> [See *post*, under 8th July, 1675.]

<sup>3</sup> [This was one of several temporary camps formed at Blackheath (see *post*, p. 359).]

<sup>4</sup> Catherine Sedley, 1657-1717, the Duke of York's mistress, afterwards created by him Baroness of Darlington and Countess of Dorchester (see *post*, under 23rd August, 1678, and 19th January, 1686).

<sup>5</sup> [See *ante*, p. 31.]



my Lord Clifford would have so rashly laid down his staff,<sup>1</sup> as he did, to the amazement of all the world, when it came to the test of his receiving the Communion, which I am confident he forbore more from some promise he had entered into to gratify the Duke, than from any prejudice to the Protestant religion, though I found him wavering a pretty while.

*28rd June.* To London, to accompany our Council, who went in a body to congratulate the new Lord Treasurer, no friend to it, because promoted by my Lord Arlington, whom he hated.

*26th.* Came visitors from Court to dine with me and see the army still remaining encamped on Blackheath.

*6th July.* This evening I went to the funeral of my dear and excellent friend, that good man and accomplished gentleman, Sir Robert Murray,<sup>2</sup> Secretary of Scotland. He was buried by order of his Majesty in Westminster Abbey.

*25th.* I went to Tunbridge Wells, to visit my Lord Clifford, late Lord Treasurer, who was there to divert his mind more than his body; it was believed that he had so engaged himself to the Duke, that rather than take the Test, without which he was not capable of holding any office, he would resign that great and honourable station. This, I am confident, grieved him to the heart, and at last broke it; for, though he carried with him music and people to divert him, and, when I came to see

<sup>1</sup> [Lord Clifford and the Duke of York resigned their posts in consequence of the Test Act. The Duke was succeeded as Admiral of the Fleet by Prince Rupert.]

<sup>2</sup> See *ante*, p. 159. According to the testimony of his contemporaries, universally beloved and esteemed by men of all sides and sorts, and the life and soul of the Royal Society. He delighted in every occasion of doing good, and Burnet refers enthusiastically to his superiority of genius and comprehension (*Hist. of His Own Time*, 1724, i. 59).

him, lodged me in his own apartment, and would not let me go from him, I found he was struggling in his mind; and, being of a rough and ambitious nature, he could not long brook the necessity he had brought on himself, of submission to this conjuncture. Besides, he saw the Dutch war, which was made much by his advice, as well as the shutting up of the Exchequer,<sup>1</sup> very unprosperous. These things his high spirit could not support. Having staid here two or three days, I obtained leave of my Lord to return.

In my way, I saw my Lord of Dorset's house at Knole, near Sevenoaks,<sup>2</sup> a great old-fashioned house.

*30th July.* To Council, where the business of transporting wool was brought before us.

*31st.* I went to see the pictures of all the judges and eminent men of the Long Robe, newly painted by Mr. Wright,<sup>3</sup> and set up in Guildhall, costing the City £1000. Most of them are very like the persons they represent, though I never took Wright to be any considerable artist.

*13th August.* I rode to Durdans,<sup>4</sup> where I dined at my Lord Berkeley's of Berkeley Castle, my old and noble friend, it being his wedding-anniversary,

<sup>1</sup> See *ante*, p. 340. Burnet says the Earl of Shaftesbury was the chief man in this advice (*Hist. of His Own Time*, 1724, i. 306). There is a story—says Bray—among the gossip of that day, that Shaftesbury having formed the plan, Clifford got possession of it over a bottle of wine, and carried it to the King as his own.

<sup>2</sup> [Knole Park, Sevenoaks, Kent, at present the seat of Lord Sackville (Lionel Sackville Sackville-West, G.C.M.G., second Baron). It is still said to retain much of the character of the Caroline era. When Evelyn wrote, it belonged to Charles Sackville, sixth Earl of Dorset, 1638-1706.]

<sup>3</sup> [See *ante*, p. 137. Wright's picture contains portraits of the Judges (Sir Matthew Hale and others) who, during the rebuilding of London after the Fire, sat at Clifford's Inn to arrange differences between landlords and tenants.]

<sup>4</sup> [See *ante*, p. 134.]

where I found the Duchess of Albemarle, and other company, and returned home on that evening, late.

*15th August.* Came to visit me my Lord Chancellor, the Earl of Shaftesbury.

*18th.* My Lord Clifford, being about this time returned from Tunbridge, and preparing for Devonshire, I went to take my leave of him at Wallingford-House;<sup>1</sup> he was packing up pictures, most of which were of hunting wild beasts, and vast pieces of bull-baiting, bear-baiting, etc. I found him in his study, and restored to him several papers of state, and others of importance, which he had furnished me with, on engaging me to write the History of the Holland War, with other private letters of his acknowledgments to my Lord Arlington, who from a private gentleman of a very noble family, but inconsiderable fortune, had advanced him from almost nothing. The first thing was his being in Parliament, then knighted, then made one of the Commissioners of Sick and Wounded, on which occasion, we sate long together; then, on the death of Hugh Pollard, he was made Comptroller of the Household and Privy Councillor, yet still my brother Commissioner; after the death of Lord Fitz-Harding, Treasurer of the Household, he, by letters to Lord Arlington, which that Lord showed me, begged of his Lordship to obtain it for him as the very height of his ambition. These were written with such submissions and professions of his patronage, as I had never seen any more acknowledging. The Earl of Southampton then dying, he was made one of the Commissioners of the Treasury. His Majesty inclining to put it into one hand, my Lord Clifford, under pretence of making all his interest for his patron, my Lord Arlington, cut the grass under

<sup>1</sup> [See *ante*, p. 277.]

his feet, and procured it for himself, assuring the King that Lord Arlington did not desire it. Indeed, my Lord Arlington protested to me that his confidence in Lord Clifford made him so remiss, and his affection to him was so particular, that he was absolutely minded to devolve it on Lord Clifford, all the world knowing how he himself affected ease and quiet, now growing into years, yet little thinking of this go-by. This was the only great ingratitude Lord Clifford showed, keeping my Lord Arlington in ignorance, continually assuring him he was pursuing his interest, which was the Duke's, into whose great favour Lord Clifford was now gotten; but which certainly cost him the loss of all, namely, his going so irrevocably far in his interest.

For the rest, my Lord Clifford was a valiant incorrupt gentleman, ambitious, not covetous; generous, passionate, a most constant sincere friend, to me in particular, so as when he laid down his office, I was at the end of all my hopes and endeavours. These were not for high matters, but to obtain what his Majesty was really indebted to my father-in-law, which was the utmost of my ambition, and which I had undoubtedly obtained, if this friend had stood. Sir Thomas Osborne, who succeeded him, though much more obliged to my father-in-law and his family, and my long and old acquaintance, being of a more haughty and far less obliging nature, I could hope for little; a man of excellent natural parts; but nothing of generous or grateful.

Taking leave of my Lord Clifford, he wrung me by the hand, and, looking earnestly on me, bid me God-b'ye, adding, "Mr. Evelyn, I shall never see thee more." "No!" said I, "my Lord, what's the meaning of this? I hope I shall see you often, and as great a person again." "No, Mr. Evelyn,

do not expect it, I will never see this place, this City, or Court again," or words of this sound. In this manner, not without almost mutual tears, I parted from him; nor was it long after, but the news was that he was dead, and I have heard from some who I believe knew, he made himself away, after an extraordinary melancholy. This is not confidently affirmed, but a servant who lived in the house, and afterwards with Sir Robert Clayton, Lord Mayor, did, as well as others, report it; and when I hinted some such thing to Mr. Prideaux, one of his trustees, he was not willing to enter into that discourse.

It was reported with these particulars, that, causing his servant to leave him unusually one morning, locking himself in, he strangled himself with his cravat upon the bed-tester; his servant, not liking the manner of dismissing him, and looking through the key-hole (as I remember), and seeing his master hanging, brake in before he was quite dead, and taking him down, vomiting a great deal of blood, he was heard to utter these words, "Well; let men say what they will, there is a God, a just God above"; after which he spake no more. This, if true, is dismal. Really, he was the chief occasion of the Dutch war, and of all that blood which was lost at Bergen in attacking the Smyrna fleet,<sup>1</sup> and that whole quarrel.

This leads me to call to mind what my Lord Chancellor Shaftesbury affirmed, not to me only, but to all my brethren the Council of Foreign Plantations, when not long after, this accident being mentioned as we were one day sitting in Council, his Lordship told us this remarkable passage: that, being one day discoursing with him when he was only Sir Thomas Clifford, speaking of men's advancement to great charges in the

<sup>1</sup> [See *ante*, p. 339.]

nation, "Well," says he, "my Lord, I shall be one of the greatest men in England. Don't impute what I say either to fancy, or vanity; I am certain that I shall be a mighty man; but it will not last long; I shall not hold it, but die a bloody death." "What," says my Lord, "your horoscope tells you so?" "No matter for that, it will be as I tell you." "Well," says my Lord Chancellor Shaftesbury, "if I were of that opinion, I either would not be a great man, but decline preferment, or prevent my danger."

This my Lord affirmed in my hearing, before several gentlemen and noblemen sitting in council at Whitehall. And I the rather am confident of it, remembering what Sir Edward Walker (Garter King-at-Arms)<sup>1</sup> had likewise affirmed to me a long time before, even when he was first made a Lord; that carrying his pedigree to Lord Clifford on his being created a peer, and, finding him busy, he bade him go into his study, and divert himself there till he was at leisure to discourse with him about some things relating to his family; there lay, said Sir Edward, on his table, his horoscope and nativity calculated, with some writing under it, where he read that he should be advanced to the highest degree in the state that could be conferred upon him, but that he should not long enjoy it, but should die, or expressions to that sense; and I think, (but cannot confidently say) a bloody death. This Sir Edward affirmed both to me and Sir Richard Browne; nor could I

<sup>1</sup> Sir Edward Walker, 1612-77, celebrated for his knowledge of heraldry. He attended Charles II. into exile, and after the Restoration he became first Clerk of the Privy Council, and subsequently Garter King-at-Arms. Author, among other works, of *Iter Carolinum*, or an account of the Marches, etc., of King Charles I., *Military Discoveries*, *Historical Discoveries*, etc. Pepys describes his bringing the Garter to the Earl of Sandwich (27th May, 1660).

forbear to note this extraordinary passage in these memoirs.<sup>1</sup>

14th September. Dr. Creighton, son to the late eloquent Bishop of Bath and Wells,<sup>2</sup> preached to the Household on Isaiah lvii. 8.

15th. I procured £4000 of the Lords of the Treasury, and rectified divers matters about the sick and wounded.

16th. To Council, about choosing a new Secretary.

17th. I went with some friends to visit Mr. Bernard Grenville, at Ab's Court in Surrey; an old house in a pretty park.<sup>3</sup>

23rd. I went to see Paradise, a room in Hatton-Garden, furnished with a representation of all sorts of animals handsomely painted on boards, or cloth, and so cut out and made to stand, move, fly, crawl, roar, and make their several cries.<sup>4</sup> The man who showed it, made us laugh heartily at his formal poetry.

15th October. To Council, and swore in Mr. Locke, secretary, Dr. Worsley being dead.<sup>5</sup>

27th. To Council, about sending succours to

<sup>1</sup> [Here Evelyn speaks of his diary by its proper title.]

<sup>2</sup> [See *ante*, p. 17.]

<sup>3</sup> [Apps or Ab's Court, "over against Hampton Court," 1½ mile N.E. from Walton-on-Thames. It is said to have been a residence of Wolsey. It certainly once belonged to Lord Halifax, who left it to the lady to whom he is believed to have been privately married, Newton's niece, the beautiful Catherine Barton. Pope mentions the house in the *Imitations of Horace*, Ep. II. Bk. ii. l. 232 :—

Delightful Abs-court, if its fields afford  
Their fruits to you, confesses you its lord,

when it was apparently occupied by Colonel Cotterell, to whom the Epistle is addressed. A new house now stands on the old site.]

<sup>4</sup> [This was a popular exhibition at the end of the seventeenth century. Locke notes it down for a friend as a place to be visited.]

<sup>5</sup> [See *ante*, p. 338.]

recover New York : and then we read the commission and instructions to Sir Jonathan Atkins, the new Governor of Barbadoes.

*5th November.* This night the youths of the City burnt the Pope in effigy, after they had made procession with it in great triumph, they being displeased at the Duke for altering his religion, and marrying an Italian lady.<sup>1</sup>

*30th.* On St. Andrew's day, I first saw the new Duchess of York, and the Duchess of Modena, her mother.

*1st December.* To Gresham College, whither the City had invited the Royal Society by many of their chief aldermen and magistrates, who gave us a collation, to welcome us to our first place of assembly, from whence we had been driven to give place to the City, on their making it their Exchange, on the dreadful conflagration, till their new Exchange was finished, which it now was. The Society having till now been entertained and having met at Arundel House.<sup>2</sup>

*2nd.* I dined with some friends, and visited the sick : thence, to an alms-house, where was prayers and relief, some very ill and miserable. It was one of the best days I ever spent in my life.

*3rd.* There was at dinner my Lord Lockhart,<sup>3</sup> designed ambassador for France, a gallant and a sober person.

*9th.* I saw again the Italian Duchess and her brother, the Prince Reynaldo.

*20th.* I had some discourse with certain strangers,

<sup>1</sup> [Mary Beatrice D'Este, 1658-1718, daughter of Alfonso IV., Duke of Modena. James married her in this year, his first wife, Anne Hyde, having died 31st March, 1671.]

<sup>2</sup> [See *ante*, p. 267.]

<sup>3</sup> [Sir William Lockhart of Lee, 1621-76; Ambassador to Paris, 1673-76.]



not unlearned, who had been born not far from Old Nineveh; they assured me of the ruins being still extant, and vast and wonderful were the buildings, vaults, pillars, and magnificent fragments; but they could say little of the Tower of Babel that satisfied me. But the description of the amenity and fragrantcy of the country for health and cheerfulness, delighted me; so sensibly they spake of the excellent air and climate in respect of our cloudy and splenetic country.

*24th December.* Visited the prisoners at Ludgate, taking orders about the releasing of some.

*80th.* I gave Almighty God thanks for His infinite goodness to me the year past, and begged His mercy and protection the year following: afterwards, invited my neighbours to spend the day with me.

*1678-4: 5th January.* I saw an Italian opera in music, the first that had been in England of this kind.

*9th.* Sent for by his Majesty to write something against the Hollanders about the duty of the Flag and Fishery. Returned with some papers.

*25th March.* I dined at Knightsbridge, with the Bishops of Salisbury, Chester, and Lincoln, my old friends.

*29th May.* His Majesty's birthday and Restoration. Mr. Demalhoy, Roger L'Estrange,<sup>1</sup> and several of my friends, came to dine with me on the happy occasion.

*27th June.* Mr. Dryden,<sup>2</sup> the famous poet and now laureate, came to give me a visit. It was the anniversary of my marriage,<sup>3</sup> and the first day I went into my new little cell and cabinet, which

<sup>1</sup> [See *ante*, p. 109.]

<sup>2</sup> [Dryden, born in 1631, was now forty-three. He had been made Laureate and historiographer in 1670.]

<sup>3</sup> [27th June, 1647 (see *ante*, p. 2).]

I built below towards the south court, at the east end of the parlour.

9th July. Paid £360 for purchase of Dr. Jacombe's son's share in the mill and land at Deptford, which I bought of the Beechers.

22nd. I went to Windsor with my wife and son to see my daughter Mary, who was there with my Lady Tuke, and to do my duty to his Majesty. Next day, to a great entertainment at Sir Robert Holmes's<sup>1</sup> at Cranborne Lodge, in the Forest; there were his Majesty, the Queen, Duke, Duchess, and all the Court. I returned in the evening with Sir Joseph Williamson,<sup>2</sup> now declared Secretary of State. He was son of a poor clergyman somewhere in Cumberland, brought up at Queen's College, Oxford, of which he came to be a fellow; then travelled with . . . .<sup>3</sup> and returning when the King was restored, was received as a Clerk under Mr. Secretary Nicholas. Sir Henry Bennet (now Lord Arlington) succeeding, Williamson is transferred to him, who loving his ease more than business (though sufficiently able had he applied himself to it) remitted all to his man Williamson; and, in a short time, let him so into the secret of affairs, that (as his Lordship himself told me) there was a kind of necessity to advance him; and so, by his subtlety, dexterity, and insinuation, he got now to be principal Secretary; absolutely Lord Arlington's creature, and ungrateful enough. It has been the fate of this obliging favourite to advance those who soon forgot their original. Sir Joseph was a musician, could play at *Jeu de Gobelets*,<sup>4</sup> exceeding formal, a severe master to his servants, but so inward with

<sup>1</sup> [See *ante*, p. 296.]

<sup>2</sup> [See *ante*, p. 220.]

<sup>3</sup> ["Possibly one of the sons of the Marquis of Ormonde" (*Dict. Nat. Biog.*).]

<sup>4</sup> [This is a figure for "juggler" or "trickster"; but Evelyn may mean something more literal.]

my Lord O'Brien, that after a few months of that gentleman's death, he married his widow,<sup>1</sup> who, being sister and heir of the Duke of Richmond, brought him a noble fortune. It was thought they lived not so kindly after marriage as they did before. She was much censured for marrying so meanly, being herself allied to the Royal family.

*6th August.* I went to Groombridge, to see my old friend, Mr. Packer;<sup>2</sup> the house built within a moat, in a woody valley. The old house had been the place of confinement of the Duke of Orleans,<sup>3</sup> taken by one Waller (whose house it then was) at the battle of Agincourt, now demolished, and a new one built in its place,<sup>4</sup> though a far better situation had been on the south of the wood, on a graceful ascent. At some small distance, is a large chapel, not long since built by Mr. Packer's father, on a vow he made to do it on the return of King Charles I. out of Spain, 1625, and dedicated to St. Charles; but what saint there was then of that name I am to seek, for, being a Protestant, I conceive it was not Borromeo.

I went to see my farm at Ripe, near Lewes.<sup>5</sup>

*19th.* His Majesty told me how exceedingly the Dutch were displeased at my treatise of the

<sup>1</sup> Lady Catherine Stuart, sister and heir to Charles Stuart, third Duke of Richmond, the husband of Frances Teresa Stewart (1647-1702), one of the most admired beauties of the Court, with whom Charles the Second was so deeply in love that he never forgave the Duke for marrying her in 1667, having already, it is thought, formed some similar intention himself. He took the first opportunity of sending the Duke into an honourable exile, as Ambassador to Denmark, where he shortly after died (1672), leaving no issue by the Duchess.

<sup>2</sup> [See *ante*, p. 61.]

<sup>3</sup> [The Duke's arms are still to be seen on a stone preserved over the S. porch of the present Speldhurst Church.]

<sup>4</sup> [Circa 1660.]

<sup>5</sup> [Seven miles E. of Lewes.]

*History of Commerce*; <sup>1</sup> that the Holland Ambassador had complained to him of what I had touched of the Flags and Fishery, etc., <sup>2</sup> and desired the book might be called in; whilst, on the other side, he assured me he was exceedingly pleased with what I had done, and gave me many thanks. However, it being just upon conclusion of the treaty of Breda <sup>3</sup> (indeed it was designed to have been published some months before and when we were at defiance), his Majesty told me he must recall it formally; but gave order that what copies should be publicly seized to pacify the Ambassador, should immediately be restored to the printer, and that neither he nor the vender should be molested. The truth is, that which touched the Hollander was much less than what the King himself furnished me with, and obliged me to publish, having caused it to be read to him before it went to the press; but the error was, it should have been published before the peace was proclaimed. The noise of this book's suppression made it presently be bought up, and turned much to the stationer's advantage. It was no other than the Preface prepared to be prefixed to my *History of the whole War*; which I now pursued no further.

21st August. In one of the meadows at the foot of the long Terrace below the Castle [Windsor],

<sup>1</sup> Entitled *Navigation and Commerce, their Original and Progress. etc.* Containing a succinct Account of Traffick in General; its Benefits and Improvements: of Discoveries, Wars, and Conflicts at Sea, from the Original of Navigation to this Day; with special regard to the English Nation; their several Voyages and Expeditions, to the Beginning of our late Differences with Holland; In which His Majesties Title to the Dominion of the Sea is asserted against the Novel, and later Pretenders. By J. Evelyn, Esq., S.R.S. 8vo., 1674. Dedicated to the King. It was, as stated, only the introduction to the intended *History of the Dutch War*, and is reprinted in Evelyn's *Miscellaneous Writings*, pp. 625-696.

<sup>2</sup> [See *ante*, p. 367.]

<sup>3</sup> [In which the honour of the flag was conceded.]



NAVIGATION  
AND  
Commerce,  
THEIR  
ORIGINAL  
AND  
PROGRESS.

*Containing*

*A succinct Account of Traffick in General;  
its Benefits and Improvements: Of Discoveries,  
Wars and Conflicts at Sea, from the Original of  
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the ENGLISH Nation; Their several Voy-  
ages and Expeditions, to the Beginning of our  
late Differences with HOLLAND; In which  
His Majesties Title to the DOMINION of  
the SEA is Asserted, against the Novel, and  
later Pretenders.*

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By *J. EVELYN* Esq; S.R.S.

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Cicero ad Attic. L. 10. Ep. 7.

*Qui MARE tenet, eum necesse est RERUM Potiri.*

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L O N D O N,

Printed by T.R. for Benj. Tooke, at the Sign of the Ship  
in St. Pauls Churchyard, 1674.

FACSIMILE OF THE TITLE-PAGE OF "NAVIGATION AND  
COMMERCE," 1674

works were thrown up to show the King a representation of the City of Maestricht, newly taken by the French.<sup>1</sup> Bastions, bulwarks, ramparts, palisadoes, graffs, horn-works, counterscarps, etc., were constructed. It was attacked by the Duke of Monmouth (newly come from the real siege) and the Duke of York, with a little army, to show their skill in tactics. On Saturday night, they made their approaches, opened trenches, raised batteries, took the counterscarp and ravelin, after a stout defence; great guns fired on both sides, grenadoes shot, mines sprung, parties sent out, attempts of raising the siege, prisoners taken, parleys; and, in short, all the circumstances of a formal siege, to appearance, and, what is most strange, all without disorder, or ill accident, to the great satisfaction of a thousand spectators. Being night, it made a formidable show. The siege being over, I went with Mr. Pepys back to London, where we arrived about three in the morning.

*15th September.* To Council, about fetching away the English left at Surinam, etc., since our reconciliation with Holland.

*21st.* I went to see the great loss that Lord Arlington had sustained by fire at Goring House,<sup>2</sup> this night consumed to the ground, with exceeding loss of hangings, plate, rare pictures, and cabinets; hardly anything was saved of the best and most princely furniture that any subject had in England. My lord and lady were both absent at the Bath.

*6th October.* The Lord Chief Baron Turner,<sup>3</sup> and Serjeant Wild, Recorder of London,<sup>4</sup> came to visit me.

<sup>1</sup> [In 1673.]

<sup>2</sup> [See *ante*, p. 357.]

<sup>3</sup> Sir Edward Turner, *d.* 1675, Speaker of the House of Commons, subsequently Solicitor-General, and Lord Chief Baron.

<sup>4</sup> Sir William Wilde, 1611-79, was King's Serjeant, 1661; Judge of Common Pleas, 1668; and King's Bench, 1673.

20th October. At Lord Berkeley's, I discoursed with Sir Thomas Modyford, late Governor of Jamaica, and with Colonel Morgan,<sup>1</sup> who undertook that gallant exploit from Nombre de Dios to Panama, on the Continent of America; he told me 10,000 men would easily conquer all the Spanish Indies, they were so secure. They took great booty, and much greater had been taken, had they not been betrayed and so discovered before their approach, by which the Spaniards had time to carry their vast treasure on board ships that put off to sea in sight of our men, who had no boats to follow. They set fire to Panama, and ravaged the country sixty miles about. The Spaniards were so supine and unexercised, that they were afraid to fire a great gun.

31st. My birthday, 54th year of my life. Blessed be God! It was also preparation-day for the Holy Sacrament, in which I participated the next day, imploring God's protection for the year following, and confirming my resolutions of a more holy life, even upon the Holy Book. The Lord assist and be gracious unto me! Amen.

15th November. The anniversary of my baptism: I first heard that famous and excellent preacher, Dr. Burnet<sup>2</sup> (author of the *History of the Reformation*) on Colossians iii. 10, with such flow of eloquence and fulness of matter, as showed him to be a person of extraordinary parts.

Being her Majesty's birthday, the Court was exceeding splendid in clothes and jewels, to the height of excess.

17th. To Council, on the business of Surinam, where the Dutch had detained some English in prison, ever since the first war, 1665.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> [See *ante*, p. 327.]

<sup>2</sup> [Dr. Gilbert Burnet, 1643-1715, afterwards (1689) Bishop of Salisbury. He had been dismissed by the King from his Chaplaincy.]

<sup>3</sup> [See *ante*, p. 371.]



*19th November.* I heard that stupendous violin, Signor Nicholao (with other rare musicians), whom I never heard mortal man exceed on that instrument. He had a stroke so sweet, and made it speak like the voice of a man, and, when he pleased, like a concert of several instruments. He did wonders upon a note, and was an excellent composer. Here was also that rare lutanist, Dr. Wallgrave;<sup>1</sup> but nothing approached the violin in Nicholao's hand. He played such ravishing things as astonished us all.

*2nd December.* At Mr. Slingsby's, Master of the Mint, my worthy friend, a great lover of music. Heard Signor Francesco on the harpsichord, esteemed one of the most excellent masters in Europe on that instrument; then, came Nicholao with his violin, and struck all mute, but Mrs. Knight,<sup>2</sup> who sung incomparably, and doubtless has the greatest reach of any English woman; she had been lately roaming in Italy, and was much improved in that quality.

*15th.* Saw a comedy<sup>3</sup> at night, at Court, acted by the ladies only, amongst them Lady Mary and Ann, his Royal Highness's two daughters, and my dear friend, Mrs. Blagge,<sup>4</sup> who, having the principal

<sup>1</sup> [See *post*, under 28th February, 1684.]

<sup>2</sup> [See *ante*, p. 138.]

<sup>3</sup> This was the Masque of *Calisto; or, the Chaste Nymph*, by John Crowne, d. 1703. The performers in the piece were, the two daughters of the Duke of York, Lady Henrietta Wentworth (afterwards mistress to the Duke of Monmouth), Countess of Sussex, Lady Mary Mordaunt, Mrs. Blagge, who had been Maid of Honour to the Queen, and Mrs. Jennings, then Maid of Honour to the Duchess of York, and afterwards the celebrated Duchess of Marlborough. The Duke of Monmouth, Lord Dunblane, Lord Daincourt, were among the dancers; and Mrs. Davis, Mrs. Knight, Mrs. Butler, and other celebrated comedians of the day, also acted and sung in the performance. The Masque was printed in 4to in 1675.

<sup>4</sup> [At this time Margaret Blagge had withdrawn from Court, and was living at Berkeley House with her friend Lady Berkeley,

part, performed it to admiration. They were all covered with jewels.

*22nd December.* Was at the repetition of the *Pastoral*, on which occasion Mrs. Blagge had about her near £20,000 worth of jewels, of which she lost one worth about £80, borrowed of the Countess of Suffolk. The press was so great, that it is a wonder she lost no more. The Duke made it good.

1674-5: *20th January.* Went to see Mr. Streater,<sup>1</sup> that excellent painter of perspective and landscape, to comfort and encourage him to be cut for the stone, with which that honest man was exceedingly afflicted.

*22nd March.* Supped at Sir William Petty's,<sup>2</sup> with the Bishop of Salisbury,<sup>3</sup> and divers honourable persons. We had a noble entertainment in a house gloriously furnished; the master and mistress of it were extraordinary persons. Sir William was the son of a mean man somewhere in Sussex, and sent from school to Oxford, where he studied Philosophy, but was most eminent in Mathematics and Mechanics; proceeded Doctor of Physic, and was grown famous, as for his learning so for his recovering a poor wench that had been hanged for felony; and her body having been begged (as the custom is) for the anatomy lecture, he bled her, put her to bed to a warm woman, and, with spirits

wife of Lord Berkeley of Stratton (see *ante*, p. 351). But the King and Duke of York had "laid their Commands" upon her to take part in Crowne's masque. She appropriately represented *Diana*.]

<sup>1</sup> See *ante*, p. 211. King Charles, who had a great regard for this artist, is said to have sent for a famous surgeon from Paris, on purpose to perform the operation.

<sup>2</sup> [See *ante*, p. 178. Sir William Petty's house was in Sackville Street, Piccadilly—the corner house on the east side, opposite St. James's Church.]

<sup>3</sup> [Dr. Seth Ward (see *ante*, p. 76). Walter Pope, mentioned in the following note, wrote his life]

and other means, restored her to life.<sup>1</sup> The young scholars joined and made a little portion, and married her to a man who had several children by her, she living fifteen years after, as I have been assured. Sir William came from Oxford to be tutor to a neighbour of mine; thence, when the rebels were dividing their conquests in Ireland, he was employed by them to measure and set out the land, which he did on an easy contract, so much per acre. This he effected so exactly, that it not only furnished him with a great sum of money; but enabled him to purchase an estate worth £4000 a year. He afterwards married the daughter of Sir Hardress Waller;<sup>2</sup> she was an extraordinary wit as well as beauty, and a prudent woman.

Sir William, amongst other inventions, was author of the double-bottomed ship,<sup>3</sup> which perished, and he was censured for rashness, being lost in the Bay of Biscay in a storm, when, I think, fifteen other vessels miscarried. This vessel was flat-bottomed, of exceeding use to put into shallow ports, and ride over small depths of water. It consisted of two distinct keels cramped together with huge timbers, etc., so as that a violent stream

<sup>1</sup> According to Bray, a full account of this event was given in a published pamphlet at the time, entitled "Newes from the Dead, or a true and exact Narration of the miraculous Deliverance of Anne Greene, who being executed at Oxford, Dec. 14, 1650, afterwards revived; and by the care of certain Physicians there, is now perfectly recovered. Oxford, the second Impression, with Additions, 4to, 1651." Added to the Narrative are several copies of Verses in Latin, English, and French, by Gentlemen of the University, commemorative of the event; amongst others, by Joseph Williamson, afterwards Secretary of State, by Christopher Wren, the famous architect, then of Wadham College, by Walter Pope [author of *The Wish*, 1697], Dr. Ralph Bathurst (the last under other names), and many more. The pamphlet was reprinted, but very negligently, from the first and worst edition, in Morgan's *Phoenix Britannicus*, 4to.

<sup>2</sup> [Sir Hardress Waller, the regicide, 1604-66. He was imprisoned for life.]

<sup>3</sup> See *ante*, p. 178.

ran between; it bare a monstrous broad sail, and he still persists that it is practicable, and of exceeding use; and he has often told me he would adventure himself in such another, could he procure sailors, and his Majesty's permission to make a second *Experiment*; which name the King gave the vessel at the launching.<sup>1</sup>

The Map of Ireland<sup>2</sup> made by Sir William Petty is believed to be the most exact that ever yet was made of any country. He did promise to publish it; and I am told it has cost him near £1000 to have it engraved at Amsterdam. There is not a better Latin poet living, when he gives himself that diversion; nor is his excellence less in Council and prudent matters of state; but he is so exceeding nice in sifting and examining all possible contingencies, that he adventures at nothing which is not demonstration. There were not in the whole world his equal for a superintendent of manufacture and improvement of trade, or to govern a plantation. If I were a Prince, I should make him my second Counsellor, at least. There is nothing difficult to him. He is, besides, courageous; on which account, I cannot but note a true story of him, that when Sir Aleyn Brodrick sent him a challenge upon a difference betwixt them in Ireland, Sir William, though exceedingly purblind, accepted the challenge, and it being his part to propound the weapon, desired his antagonist to meet him with a hatchet, or axe, in a dark cellar; which the other, of course, refused.

Sir William was, with all this, facetious and of easy conversation, friendly and courteous, and had such a faculty of imitating others, that he would

<sup>1</sup> [See *ante*, p. 220.]

<sup>2</sup> [The "Down Survey" of forfeited estates executed for the Commonwealth in 1654. It was the first attempt at carrying out a survey on a large scale scientifically.]

take a text and preach, now like a grave orthodox divine, then falling into the Presbyterian way, then to the fanatical, the Quaker, the monk and friar, the Popish priest, with such admirable action, and alteration of voice and tone, as it was not possible to abstain from wonder, and one would swear to hear several persons, or forbear to think he was not in good earnest an enthusiast and almost beside himself; then, he would fall out of it into a serious discourse; but it was very rarely he would be prevailed on to oblige the company with this faculty, and that only amongst most intimate friends. My Lord Duke of Ormonde once obtained it of him, and was almost ravished with admiration; but by-and-bye, he fell upon a serious reprimand of the faults and miscarriages of some Princes and Governors, which, though he named none, did so sensibly touch the Duke, who was then Lieutenant of Ireland, that he began to be very uneasy, and wished the spirit laid which he had raised, for he was neither able to endure such truths, nor could he but be delighted. At last, he melted his discourse to a ridiculous subject, and came down from the joint stool on which he had stood; but my lord would not have him preach any more. He never could get favour at Court, because he outwitted all the projectors that came near him. Having never known such another genius, I cannot but mention these particulars, amongst a multitude of others which I could produce. When I, who knew him in mean circumstances, have been in his splendid palace, he would himself be in admiration how he arrived at it; nor was it his value or inclination for splendid furniture and the curiosities of the age, but his elegant lady could endure nothing mean, or that was not magnificent. He was very negligent himself, and rather so of his person, and of a philosophic temper. "What a to-do is here!"

would he say, "I can lie in straw with as much satisfaction."

He is author of the ingenious deductions from the bills of mortality, which go under the name of Mr. Graunt;<sup>1</sup> also of that useful discourse of the manufacture of wool, and several others in the register of the Royal Society. He was also author of that paraphrase on the 104th Psalm in Latin verse, which goes about in MS., and is inimitable. In a word, there is nothing impenetrable to him.

26th March. Dr. Brideoake was elected Bishop of Chichester,<sup>2</sup> on the translation of Dr. Gunning to Ely.<sup>3</sup>

30th. Dr. Allestree<sup>4</sup> preached on Romans vi. 8, the necessity of those who are baptized to die to sin; a very excellent discourse from an excellent preacher.

25th April. Dr. Barrow,<sup>5</sup> that excellent, pious, and most learned man, divine, mathematician, poet, traveller, and most humble person, preached at Whitehall to the household, on Luke xx. 27, of love and charity to our neighbours.

29th. I read my first discourse *Of Earth and Vegetation* before the Royal Society as a lecture in course,<sup>6</sup> after Sir Robert Southwell<sup>7</sup> had read his

<sup>1</sup> [John Graunt, the statistician, 1620-74. The work referred to is presumably *Natural and Political Observations . . . made upon the Bills of Mortality*, 1661.]

<sup>2</sup> [Dr. Ralph Brideoake, 1613-78; Bishop of Chichester, 1675-78.]

<sup>3</sup> [See *ante*, p. 125.]

<sup>4</sup> [See *ante*, p. 157.]

<sup>5</sup> Dr. Isaac Barrow, 1630-77, Master of Trinity College, Cambridge; in which he succeeded Dr. John Pearson, made Bishop of Chester in 1673.

<sup>6</sup> [*A Philosophical Discourse of Earth, relating to the Culture and Improvement of it for Vegetation, and the propagation of Plants, etc., as it was presented to the Royal Society, April 29, 1675. By J. Evelyn, Esq., Fellow of the said Society, 1676.*]

<sup>7</sup> Sir Robert Southwell, 1635-1702. He was sent Envoy Extraordinary to Portugal, in 1665-68, and in the same capacity

the week before *On Water*. I was commanded by our President, and the suffrage of the Society, to print it.

*16th May*. This day was my dear friend, Mrs. Blagge,<sup>1</sup> married at the Temple Church to my friend, Mr. Sidney Godolphin,<sup>2</sup> Groom of the Bed-chamber to his Majesty.

*18th*. I went to visit one Mr. Bathurst, a Spanish merchant, my neighbour.

*31st*. I went with Lord Ossory to Deptford, where we chose him Master of the Trinity Company.

*2nd June*. I was at a conference of the Lords and Commons in the Painted Chamber, on a difference about imprisoning some of their members; and, on the 3rd, at another conference, when the Lords accused the Commons for their transcendent misbehaviour, breach of privilege, Magna Charta, subversion of government, and other high, provoking, and diminishing expressions, showing what duties and subjection they owed to the Lords in Parliament, by record of Henry IV. This was likely to create a notable disturbance.

*15th*. This afternoon came Monsieur Kéroualle and his lady, parents to the famous beauty and \* \* \* \* \* favourite at Court,<sup>3</sup> to see Sir R. Browne, with whom they were intimately acquainted in Bretagne, at the time Sir Richard was sent to Brest to supervise his Majesty's sea-affairs, during the latter part of the King's banishment to Brussels, in 1671. He was subsequently Clerk of the Privy Council, and having shown much taste for learned and scientific researches, was five times elected President of the Royal Society.

<sup>1</sup> *Ante*, p. 373, etc.; and see *post*, under 8th September, 1678.

<sup>2</sup> [Sidney Godolphin, 1645-1712, afterwards first Earl of Godolphin. This entry must have been added later, for at this date Evelyn did not know of the marriage.]

<sup>3</sup> [Her father was Guillaume de Penancoët, Sieur de Kéroualle, a Breton gentleman of an old descent; her mother, Marie de Plœuc de Timeur (through her mother) was connected with the family of de Rieux.]

ment. This gentleman's house was not a mile from Brest; Sir Richard made an acquaintance there, and, being used very civilly, was obliged to return it here, which we did. He seemed a soldierly person and a good fellow, as the Bretons generally are; his lady had been very handsome, and seemed a shrewd understanding woman. Conversing with him in our garden, I found several words of the Breton language the same with our Welch. His daughter was now made Duchess of Portsmouth,<sup>1</sup> and in the height of favour; but he never made any use of it.

*27th June.* At Ely House, I went to the consecration of my worthy friend, the learned Dr. Barlow, Warden of Queen's College, Oxford, now made Bishop of Lincoln.<sup>2</sup> After it, succeeded a magnificent feast, where were the Duke of Ormonde, Earl of Lauderdale, the Lord Treasurer, Lord Keeper, etc.

*8th July.* I went with Mrs. Howard and her two daughters<sup>3</sup> towards Northampton Assizes, about a trial at law, in which I was concerned for them as a trustee. We lay this night at Henley-on-the-Thames, at our attorney, Mr. Stephens's, who entertained us very handsomely. Next day, dining at Shotover, at Sir Timothy Tyrell's,<sup>4</sup> a sweet place, we lay at Oxford, where it was the time of the Act. Mr. Robert Spencer, uncle to the Earl of Sunderland,<sup>5</sup> and my old acquaintance in France, entertained us at his apartment in Christ Church, with exceeding generosity.

*10th.* The Vice-Chancellor, Dr. Bathurst<sup>6</sup> (who

<sup>1</sup> [In 1673.]

<sup>2</sup> [Ely Place (or House), Holborn, belonged to the See of Ely. The Bishop of Ely, Dr. Benjamin Laney, 1591-1675, died there in this year. Dr. Thomas Barlow, 1607-91, was Bishop of Lincoln, 1675-91, succeeding Dr. William Fuller, *d.* 1675.]

<sup>3</sup> [See *ante*, p. 297.]

<sup>5</sup> [See *ante*, p. 301.]

<sup>4</sup> [See *ante*, p. 50.]

<sup>6</sup> [See *ante*, p. 242.]



had formerly taken particular care of my son), President of Trinity College, invited me to dinner, and did me great honour all the time of my stay. The next day, he invited me and all my company, though strangers to him, to a very noble feast. I was at all the academic exercises.—Sunday, at St. Mary's, preached a Fellow of Brasen-nose, not a little magnifying the dignity of Churchmen.

11th July. We heard the speeches, and saw the ceremony of creating Doctors in Divinity, Law, and Physic. I had, early in the morning, heard Dr. Morison,<sup>1</sup> Botanic Professor, read on divers plants in the Physic Garden: and saw that rare collection of natural curiosities of Dr. Plot's,<sup>2</sup> of Magdalen Hall, author of *The Natural History of Oxfordshire*, all of them collected in that shire, and indeed extraordinary, that in one county there should be found such variety of plants, shells, stones, minerals, marcasites,<sup>3</sup> fowls, insects, models of works, crystals, agates and marbles. He was now intending to visit Staffordshire, and, as he had of Oxfordshire, to give us the natural, topical, political, and mechanical history. Pity it is that more of this industrious man's genius were not employed so to describe every county of England; it would be one of the most useful and illustrious works that was ever produced in any age or nation.

I visited also the Bodleian Library, and my old friend, the learned Obadiah Walker,<sup>4</sup> head of

<sup>1</sup> Robert Morison, 1620-83, Physician to Charles II., Regius Professor of Botany at Oxford, and author of *Præcludia Botanica*, and of the fragment of a *Historia Plantarum Oxoniensis*, which he left unfinished.

<sup>2</sup> Robert Plot, 1640-96, Doctor of Laws, one of the Secretaries of the Royal Society, Royal Historiographer, Keeper of the Archives of the Heralds' College; celebrated for his *Natural Histories of Oxfordshire and Staffordshire*.

<sup>3</sup> [A mineral often mistaken for gold or silver ore.]

<sup>4</sup> [See *ante*, p. 9.]

University College, which he had now almost re-built, or repaired. We then proceeded to Northampton, where we arrived the next day.

In this journey, went part of the way Mr. James Graham (since Privy Purse to the Duke), a young gentleman exceedingly in love with Mrs. Dorothy Howard, one of the Maids of Honour in our company.<sup>1</sup> I could not but pity them both, the mother not much favouring it. This lady was not only a great beauty, but a most virtuous and excellent creature, and worthy to have been wife to the best of men. My advice was required, and I spake to the advantage of the young gentleman, more out of pity than that she deserved no better match; for, though he was a gentleman of good family, yet there was great inequality.

*14th July.* I went to see my Lord Sunderland's seat at Althorp,<sup>2</sup> four miles from the ragged town of Northampton (since burnt, and well re-built). It is placed in a pretty open bottom, very finely watered and flanked with stately woods and groves in a park, with a canal, but the water is not running, which is a defect. The house, a kind of modern building, of freestone, within most nobly furnished; the apartments very commodious, a gallery and noble hall; but the kitchen being in the body of the house, and chapel too small, were defects. There is an old yet honourable gate-house standing awry, and out-housing mean, but designed to be taken away. It was moated round, after the old manner, but it is now dry, and turfed with a beautiful carpet. Above all, are admirable and magnificent the several ample gardens furnished with the choicest fruit, and exquisitely kept. Great plenty of oranges, and other curiosities. The park full of fowl, especially

<sup>1</sup> He afterwards married her (see p. 383, n. 2).

<sup>2</sup> [Althorp (see *post*, under 15th and 18th August, 1688). Althorp Park is the seat of Earl Spencer.]

herns, and from it a prospect to Holmby House,<sup>1</sup> which being demolished in the late civil wars, shows like a Roman ruin, shaded by the trees about it, a stately, solemn, and pleasing view.

*15th July.* Our cause was pleaded in behalf of the mother, Mrs. Howard<sup>2</sup> and her daughters, before Baron Thurland,<sup>3</sup> who had formerly been steward of Courts for me; we carried our cause, as there was reason, for here was an imprudent as well as disobedient son against his mother, by instigation, doubtless, of his wife, one Mrs. Ogle (an ancient maid), whom he had clandestinely married, and who brought him no fortune, he being heir-apparent to the Earl of Berkshire. We lay at Brickhill, in Bedfordshire, and came late the next day to our journey's end.

This was a journey of adventures and knight-errantry. One of the lady's servants being as desperately in love with Mrs. Howard's woman, as Mr. Graham was with her daughter, and she riding

<sup>1</sup> [Holmby, or Holdenby House, 6½ m. N.W. of Northampton. It was built by Sir Christopher Hatton; became a royal palace under James I.; and, in 1647, was, for a brief period, the prison of Charles I. It was dismantled in 1652. At this date [1675] it belonged to Lord Duras (see *post*, under 24th October, 1675). It was afterwards in the possession of the Marlborough family. The present house belongs to Lord Annaly.]

<sup>2</sup> Mrs. Howard was widow of William, fourth son of the first Earl of Berkshire, being the daughter of Lord Dundas, a Scottish peer. They had one son, Craven Howard; and two daughters, Dorothy, who married Colonel James Graham, of Levens, in Westmoreland; and Anne, who married Sir Gabriel Sylvius, Knt. Craven married two wives, the first of whom was Anne Ogle, of the family of the Ogles of Pinchbeck, in the county of Lincoln (Collins's *Peerage*, 1735, ii. pp. 139, 140). She was Maid of Honour to Queen Catherine at the time.

These two daughters are the ladies mentioned by Evelyn in the text; but he is not correct in calling Craven heir-apparent of the Earl of Berks, since, besides the uncle then in possession of the title, there was another uncle before him, who in fact inherited it, and did not die till many years after.

<sup>3</sup> [See *ante*, p. 288.]

on horseback behind his rival, the amorous and jealous youth having a little drink in his pate, had here killed himself had he not been prevented; for, alighting from his horse, and drawing his sword, he endeavoured twice or thrice to fall on it, but was interrupted by our coachman, and a stranger passing by. After this, running to his rival, and snatching his sword from his side (for we had beaten his own out of his hand), and on the sudden pulling down his mistress, would have run both of them through; we parted them, not without some blood. This miserable creature poisoned himself for her not many days after they came to London.

19th July. The Lord Treasurer's<sup>1</sup> Chaplain preached at Wallingford-house.

9th August. Dr. Sprat,<sup>2</sup> prebend of Westminster, and Chaplain to the Duke of Buckingham, preached on the 3rd Epistle of Jude, showing what the primitive faith was, how near it and how excellent that of the Church of England, also the danger of departing from it.

27th. I visited the Bishop of Rochester, at Bromley, and dined at Sir Philip Warwick's, at Frognall.<sup>3</sup>

2nd September. I went to see Dulwich College, being the pious foundation of one Alleyn, a famous comedian, in King James's time. The chapel is pretty, the rest of the hospital very ill contrived; it yet maintains divers poor of both sexes. It is in a melancholy part of Camberwell parish. I came back by certain medicinal Spa waters, at a place called Sydenham Wells,<sup>4</sup> in Lewisham parish, much frequented in summer.

<sup>1</sup> [The Earl of Danby, late Sir Thomas Osborne (see *ante*, p. 358).]

<sup>2</sup> [See *ante*, p. 300.]

<sup>3</sup> [See *ante*, p. 150.]

<sup>4</sup> [The Sydenham waters (once visited by George III.) would at present be vainly sought for. The spring was on Sydenham Common, now enclosed.]

10th September. I was casually showed the Duchess of Portsmouth's splendid apartment<sup>1</sup> at Whitehall, luxuriously furnished, and with ten times the richness and glory beyond the Queen's; such massy pieces of plate, whole tables, and stands of incredible value.

29th. I saw the Italian Scaramuccio act before the King at Whitehall, people giving money to come in, which was very scandalous, and never so before at Court-diversions. Having seen him act before in Italy, many years past, I was not averse from seeing the most excellent of that kind of folly.

14th October. Dined at Kensington with my old acquaintance, Mr. Henshaw, newly returned from Denmark, where he had been left resident after the death of the Duke of Richmond,<sup>2</sup> who died there Ambassador.

15th. I got an extreme cold, such as was afterwards so epidemical, as not only to afflict us in this island, but was rife over all Europe, like a plague. It was after an exceeding dry summer and autumn.

I settled affairs, my son<sup>3</sup> being to go into France with my Lord Berkeley,<sup>4</sup> designed Ambassador Extraordinary for France and Plenipotentiary for the general treaty of peace at Nimeguen.

24th. Dined at Lord Chamberlain's with the Holland Ambassador L. Duras,<sup>5</sup> a valiant gentleman whom his Majesty made an English Baron, of a cadet, and gave him his seat of Holmby, in Northamptonshire.

<sup>1</sup> [It was over the Stone Gallery to the south of the Privy Garden (see *post*, under 10th April, 1691). It is not shown on Fisher's *Plan of Whitehall*, 1680.]

<sup>2</sup> [See vol. i. p. 135; and *ante*, p. 369, n. 1.]

<sup>3</sup> [See *post*, under 10th November, 1675, and 13th May, 1676.]

<sup>4</sup> [See *ante*, p. 243.]

<sup>5</sup> [Louis Duras, or Durfort, 1640-1709, created Baron Duras of Holdenby, 1673; English Ambassador at Nimeguen, 1675, afterwards Earl of Feversham (see *post*, under 8th July, 1685).]

*27th October.* Lord Berkeley coming into Council, fell down in the gallery at Whitehall, in a fit of apoplexy, and being carried into my Lord Chamberlain's lodgings,<sup>1</sup> several famous doctors were employed all that night, and with much ado he was at last recovered to some sense, by applying hot firepans and spirit of amber to his head; but nothing was found so effectual as cupping him on the shoulders. It was almost a miraculous restoration. The next day he was carried to Berkeley House. This stopped his journey for the present, and caused my stay in town. He had put all his affairs and his whole estate in England into my hands during his intended absence, which though I was very unfit to undertake, in regard of many businesses which then took me up, yet, upon the great opportunity of my lady and Mr. Godolphin<sup>2</sup> (to whom I could refuse nothing) I did take it on me. It seems when he was Deputy in Ireland, not long before, he had been much wronged by one he left in trust with his affairs, and therefore wished for some unmercenary friend who would take that trouble on him; this was to receive his rents, look after his houses and tenants, solicit supplies from the Lord Treasurer, and correspond weekly with him, more than enough to employ any drudge in England; but what will not friendship and love make one do?

*81st.* Dined at my Lord Chamberlain's, with my son. There were the learned Isaac Vossius,<sup>3</sup> and Spanhemius,<sup>4</sup> son of the famous man of Heidel-

<sup>1</sup> [Lord Arlington's, by the Privy Garden.]

<sup>2</sup> [Godolphin's aunt Penelope was the wife of Lord Berkeley's brother, Sir Charles Berkeley (see Appendix V., pp. 415, 416).]

<sup>3</sup> [See *ante*, p. 355.]

<sup>4</sup> Ezekiel Spanheim, 1629-1710. The Elector Palatine, Charles Louis, to whose son he had been tutor, sent him, after the peace of Ryswyk, ambassador to France, and thence to England.

berg; nor was this gentleman less learned, being a general scholar. Amongst other pieces, he was author of an excellent treatise on Medals.

*10th November.* Being the day appointed for my Lord Ambassador to set out, I met them with my coach at New Cross. There were with him my Lady his wife, and my dear friend, Mrs. Godolphin, who, out of an extraordinary friendship, would needs accompany my lady to Paris, and stay with her some time, which was the chief inducement for permitting my son to travel,<sup>1</sup> but I knew him safe under her inspection, and in regard my Lord himself had promised to take him into his special favour, he having intrusted all he had to my care.

Thus we set out, three coaches (besides mine), three waggons, and about forty horse. It being late, and my Lord as yet but valetudinary, we got but to Dartford the first day, the next to Sittingbourne.

At Rochester, the major, Mr. Cony, then an officer of mine for the sick and wounded of that place, gave the ladies a handsome refreshment as we came by his house.

*12th.* We came to Canterbury: and, next morning, to Dover.

There was in my Lady Ambassadors's company my Lady Hamilton, a sprightly young lady, much in the good graces of the family, wife of that valiant and worthy gentleman George Hamilton, not long after slain in the wars. She had been a maid of honour to the Duchess, and now turned Papist.

*14th.* Being Sunday, my Lord having before delivered to me his letter of attorney, keys, seal, and his Will, we took solemn leave of one another upon the beach, the coaches carrying them into the sea to the boats, which delivered them to

<sup>1</sup> [Young John Evelyn, now twenty, in a letter to his father, calls Mrs. Godolphin his "Pretty, Pious, Pearly Governess."] ]

Captain Gunman's yacht, the *Mary*. Being under sail, the castle<sup>1</sup> gave them seventeen guns, which Captain Gunman answered with eleven. Hence, I went to church, to beg a blessing on their voyage.

*2nd December.* Being returned home, I visited Lady Mordaunt at Parson's Green, my Lord her son being sick. This pious woman delivered to me £100 to bestow as I thought fit for the release of poor prisoners, and other charitable uses.

*21st.* Visited her Ladyship again, where I found the Bishop of Winchester,<sup>2</sup> whom I had long known in France; he invited me to his house at Chelsea.

*23rd.* Lady Sunderland gave me ten guineas, to bestow in charities.

1675-6: *20th February.* Dr. Gunning, Bishop of Ely,<sup>3</sup> preached before the King from St. John xx. 21, 22, 28, chiefly against an anonymous book, called *Naked Truth*, a famous and popular treatise against the corruption in the Clergy, but not sound as to its quotations, supposed to have been the Bishop of Hereford's,<sup>4</sup> and was answered by Dr. Turner, it endeavouring to prove an equality of order of Bishop and Presbyter.

*27th.* Dr. Pritchard, Bishop of Gloucester,<sup>5</sup> preached at Whitehall, on Isaiah v. 5, very allegorically, according to his manner, yet very gravely and wittily.

*29th.* I dined with Mr. Povey,<sup>6</sup> one of the Masters of Requests, a nice contriver of all elegancies, and exceedingly formal. Supped with Sir J. Williamson, where were of our Society Mr.

<sup>1</sup> [Dover Castle.]

<sup>2</sup> [Bishop Morley (see *ante*, p. 19).]

<sup>3</sup> [See *ante*, p. 354.]

<sup>4</sup> Dr. Herbert Croft, 1603-91, Bishop of Hereford, 1661-91.

<sup>5</sup> [Dr. John Pritchard or Pritchett, Bishop of Gloucester, 1672-81.]

<sup>6</sup> [See *ante*, p. 211.]



Robert Boyle, Sir Christopher Wren, Sir William Petty, Dr. Holden,<sup>1</sup> sub-dean of his Majesty's Chapel, Sir James Shaen, Dr. Whistler,<sup>2</sup> and our Secretary, Mr. Oldenburg.

*4th March.* Sir Thomas Lynch<sup>3</sup> was returned from his government of Jamaica.

*16th.* The Countess of Sunderland and I went by water to Parson's Green, to visit my Lady Mordaunt, and to consult with her about my Lord's monument.<sup>4</sup> We returned by coach.

*19th.* Dr. Lloyd, late Curate of Deptford, but now Bishop of Llandaff,<sup>5</sup> preached before the King, on 1 Cor. xv. 57, that though sin subjects us to death, yet through Christ we become his conquerors.

*23rd.* To Twickenham Park, Lord Berkeley's country-seat,<sup>6</sup> to examine how the bailiffs and servants ordered matters.

*24th.* Dr. Brideoake,<sup>7</sup> Bishop of Chichester, preached a mean discourse for a Bishop. I also heard Dr. Fleetwood, Bishop of Worcester, on Matt. xxvi. 38, of the sorrows of Christ, a deadly sorrow caused by our sins; he was no great preacher.

*30th.* Dining with my Lady Sunderland, I saw a fellow swallow a knife, and divers great pebble

<sup>1</sup> [See *ante*, p. 355.]

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Daniel Whistler, 1619-84, President of the College of Physicians. He accompanied Bulstrode Whitelock in his embassy to Sweden. Pepys says, 4th February, 1661, that he found him "good company and a very ingenious man."

<sup>3</sup> [See *ante*, p. 321.]

<sup>4</sup> [John Mordaunt, first Baron Mordaunt of Reigate in Surrey, and Viscount Mordaunt of Avalon in Somerset, *d.* 1675.]

<sup>5</sup> [Dr. William Lloyd, 1637-1710; Bishop of Llandaff, 1675-79.]

<sup>6</sup> [An old house once inhabited by Bacon, who here gardened and planned the *Novum Organum*. It was transferred in 1668 to Lord Berkeley from Henry Murray. The Berkeley family occupied it until 1685. The site is now "a village of villas and genteel residences!"]

<sup>7</sup> [See *ante*, p. 378.]

stones, which would make a plain rattling one against another. The knife was in a sheath of horn.

Dr. North, son of my Lord North, preached before the King, on Isaiah liii. 57, a very young but learned and excellent person. Note. This was the first time the Duke appeared no more in chapel, to the infinite grief and threatened ruin of this poor nation.<sup>1</sup>

2nd April. I had now notice that my dear friend, Mrs. Godolphin, was returning from Paris. On the 6th, she arrived to my great joy, whom I most heartily welcomed.

28th. My wife entertained her Majesty at Deptford, for which the Queen gave me thanks in the withdrawing-room at Whitehall.

The University of Oxford presented me with the *Marmora Oxoniensia Arundeliana*;<sup>2</sup> the Bishop of Oxford<sup>3</sup> writing to desire that I would introduce Mr. Prideaux,<sup>4</sup> the editor (a young man most learned in antiquities) to the Duke of Norfolk, to present another dedicated to his Grace, which I did, and we dined with the Duke at Arundel House, and supped at the Bishop of Rochester's with Isaac Vossius.

7th May. I spoke to the Duke of York about my Lord Berkeley's going to Nimeguen. Thence, to the Queen's Council at Somerset House, about Mrs. Godolphin's lease of Spalding, in Lincolnshire.

11th. I dined with Mr. Charleton, and went to

<sup>1</sup> See *ante*, p. 356.

<sup>2</sup> [See *ante*, p. 280.]

<sup>3</sup> [Bishop John Fell. He was the friend of Prideaux.]

<sup>4</sup> The copy of Prideaux's book thus presented to Evelyn is still in the library at Wotton. Humphrey Prideaux, 1648-1724, became Dean of Norwich. He was the author of *The Connection of the History of the Old and New Testament*, 1716-18, *The Life of Mahomet*, 1697, and other works.

see Mr. Montagu's<sup>1</sup> new palace near Bloomsbury, built by Mr. Hooke, of our Society, after the French manner.<sup>2</sup>

18th May. Returned home, and found my son returned from France; praised be God!

22nd. Trinity Monday. A chaplain of my Lord Ossory's preached, after which we took barge to Trinity House in London. Mr. Pepys (Secretary of the Admiralty) succeeded my Lord as Master.<sup>3</sup>

2nd June. I went with my Lord Chamberlain to see a garden,<sup>4</sup> at Enfield town; thence, to Mr. Secretary Coventry's<sup>5</sup> lodge in the Chase.<sup>6</sup> It is a very pretty place, the house commodious, the gardens handsome, and our entertainment very free, there being none but my Lord and myself. That which I most wondered at was, that, in the compass of twenty-five miles, yet within fourteen of London, there is not a house, barn, church, or building, besides three lodges.<sup>7</sup> To this Lodge are three great ponds, and some few inclosures, the rest a solitary desert, yet stored with not less than 8000 deer. These are pretty retreats for gentlemen, especially for those who are studious and lovers of privacy.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> [Ralph Montagu, 1638-1709, made Earl of Montagu by King William, and Duke by Anne.]

<sup>2</sup> [Robert Hooke, 1635-1703, Curator of the Royal Society, and Surveyor of London. This house was subsequently burned down in 1686 (see *post*, under 19th January, 1686). In the building erected on its site the British Museum was afterwards established.]

<sup>3</sup> [See *ante*, p. 379.]

<sup>4</sup> Probably that of Dr. Robert Uvedale, Master of the Grammar School at Enfield in 1664. See an account of it in *Archæologia*, vol. xii. p. 188, and Robinson's *History of Enfield*, vol. i. p. 116.

<sup>5</sup> [Sir William Coventry (see *ante*, p. 18).]

<sup>6</sup> [West Lodge. A new house has replaced the old.]

<sup>7</sup> Enfield Chase was divided in 1777.

<sup>8</sup> [Macaulay, *History*, chap. iii., and Scott, *Fortunes of Nigel*, chap. xxxvi., had both apparently read this account of Enfield Chase.]

We returned in the evening by Hampstead, to see Lord Wotton's house and garden (Belsize House),<sup>1</sup> built with vast expense by Mr. O'Neale, an Irish gentleman who married Lord Wotton's mother, Lady Stanhope. The furniture is very particular for Indian cabinets, porcelain, and other solid and noble movables. The gallery very fine, the gardens very large, but ill-kept, yet woody and chargeable. The soil a cold weeping clay, not answering the expense.

12th June. I went to Sir Thomas Bond's new and fine house by Peckham ;<sup>2</sup> it is on a flat, but has a fine garden and prospect through the meadows to London.

2nd July. Dr. Castilion,<sup>3</sup> Prebend of Canterbury, preached before the King, on John xv. 22, at Whitehall.

19th. Went to the funeral of Sir William Sanderson, husband to the Mother of the Maids,<sup>4</sup> and author of two large but mean histories of King James and King Charles the First. He was buried at Westminster.

1st August. In the afternoon, after prayers at St. James's Chapel, was christened a daughter of Dr. Leake's, the Duke's Chaplain: godmothers were Lady Mary, daughter of the Duke of York, and the Duchess of Monmouth: godfather, the Earl of Bath.

<sup>1</sup> In Park's *History of Hampstead* will be found notices of this house. [It was pulled down in 1831. Belsize Park now occupies the site.]

<sup>2</sup> [See *post*, under 23rd September, 1681. He had been Comptroller of the Household to Queen Henrietta Maria.]

<sup>3</sup> [John Castilion, *d.* 1688, being then Dean of Rochester.]

<sup>4</sup> Sir William Sanderson, 1586-1676. He was the author of a *History of Mary Queen of Scots*, and of *Histories of James and Charles I.* He held the post of gentleman of the privy chamber, and his wife that of "mother of the maids" (see *ante*, p. 187).

*15th August.* Came to dine with me my Lord Halifax,<sup>1</sup> Sir Thomas Meeres, one of the Commissioners of the Admiralty, Sir John Clayton, Mr. Slingsby, Mr. Henshaw, and Mr. Bridgeman.

*25th.* Dined with Sir John Banks at his house in Lincoln's Inn Fields, on recommending Mr. Upman to be tutor to his son going into France. This Sir John Banks was a merchant of small beginning, but had amassed £100,000.

*26th.* I dined at the Admiralty with Secretary Pepys, and supped at the Lord Chamberlain's. Here was Captain Baker, who had been lately on the attempt of the north-west passage. He reported prodigious depth of ice, blue as a sapphire and as transparent. The thick mists were their chief impediment, and cause of their return.

*2nd September.* I paid £1700 to the Marquis de Sissac, which he had lent to my Lord Berkeley, and which I heard the Marquis lost at play in a night or two.

The Dean of Chichester<sup>2</sup> preached before the King, on Acts xxiv. 16; and Dr. Creighton<sup>3</sup> preached the second sermon before him on Psalm xc. 12, of wisely numbering our days, and well employing our time.

*3rd.* Dined at Captain Graham's,<sup>4</sup> where I became acquainted with Dr. Compton<sup>5</sup> (brother to the Earl of Northampton), now Bishop of London, and Mr. North, son to the Lord North,<sup>6</sup> brother to the Lord Chief Justice and Clerk of the Closet, a most hopeful young man. The Bishop had once been a

<sup>1</sup> [Sir George Savile, afterwards Marquess of Halifax, 1633-1695, at this date Baron Savile of Eland and Viscount Halifax (see *ante*, p. 194).]

<sup>2</sup> [Dr. George Stradling, 1621-88; Dean of Chichester, 1672-88.]

<sup>3</sup> [See *ante*, p. 17.]

<sup>5</sup> [See *ante*, p. 299.]

<sup>4</sup> [See *ante*, p. 382.]

<sup>6</sup> [See *ante*, p. 390.]

soldier,<sup>1</sup> had also travelled Italy, and became a most sober, grave, and excellent prelate.

6th September. Supped at the Lord Chamberlain's, where also supped the famous beauty and errant lady, the Duchess Mazarin (all the world knows her story),<sup>2</sup> the Duke of Monmouth, Countess of Sussex (both natural children of the King by the Duchess of Cleveland),<sup>3</sup> and the Countess of Derby, a virtuous lady, daughter to my best friend, the Earl of Ossory.

10th. Dined with me Mr. Flamsteed, the learned astrologer and mathematician,<sup>4</sup> whom his Majesty had established in the new Observatory in Greenwich Park, furnished with the choicest instruments. An honest, sincere man.

12th. To London, to take order about the

<sup>1</sup> [A cornet of horse.]

<sup>2</sup> [Hortense Mancini, Duchesse Mazarin, the most beautiful of Cardinal Mazarin's nieces, 1646-99. Before the Restoration Charles II. had been anxious to marry her. In March, 1660, she had become the wife of the Marquis Armand de la Meilleraye (son of the marshal of that name), a man of moderate nobility, but extremely rich. Mazarin gave her the greater part of his fortune, and made the pair Duke and Duchess Mazarin. Her husband proved a jealous and eccentric bigot, from whom she was eventually separated, leading a wandering and irregular life in Italy and elsewhere, which brought her in 1675 to London, where her former royal admirer gave her a pension of £4000 (see *post*, under 4th February, 1685, and 11th June, 1699). Lord Sandwich has a beautiful painting of her by Mignard at Hinchbrook; and Fielding says that Sophy Western resembled her (*Tom Jones*, bk. iv. ch. ii.).]

<sup>3</sup> Evelyn slips here. The Duke of Monmouth's mother, it is well known, was Lucy Walter of Haverfordwest, sometimes called Mrs. Barlow (see *ante*, p. 16). Lady Anne Palmer (b. 1661), on the other hand (if she be intended), who married Thomas, fifteenth Lord Dacre, subsequently Earl of Sussex, *was* a daughter of the Duchess of Cleveland by Charles II.

<sup>4</sup> John Flamsteed, 1646-1719, author of *Historia Coelestis Britannica*, and other works. A distinguished astronomer; and in the comprehensiveness of his scientific knowledge, second only to Sir Isaac Newton.

building of a house, or rather an apartment, which had all the conveniences of a house, for my dear friend, Mr. Godolphin and lady, which I undertook to contrive and survey, and employ workmen until it should be quite finished; it being just over-against his Majesty's wood-yard by the Thames side, leading to Scotland-yard.

*19th September.* To Lambeth, to that rare magazine of marble, to take order for chimney-pieces, etc., for Mr. Godolphin's house. The owner of the works had built for himself a pretty dwelling-house; this Dutchman had contracted with the Genoese for all their marble. We also saw the Duke of Buckingham's glass-work, where they made huge vases of metal as clear, ponderous, and thick as crystal; also looking-glasses far larger and better than any that come from Venice.<sup>1</sup>

*9th October.* I went with Mrs. Godolphin and my wife to Blackwall, to see some Indian curiosities; the streets being slippery, I fell against a piece of timber with such violence that I could not speak nor fetch my breath for some space: being carried into a house and let blood, I was removed to the water-side and so home, where, after a day's rest, I recovered. This being one of my greatest deliverances, the Lord Jesus make me ever mindful and thankful!

*81st.* Being my birthday, and fifty-six years old, I spent the morning in devotion and imploring God's protection, with solemn thanksgiving for all his signal mercies to me, especially for that escape which concerned me this month at Blackwall.

<sup>1</sup> [The workmen, the principal of whom was one Rosetti, were Venetians, acting under the patronage of the Duke. They had come to England *circa* 1670, and established themselves at Vauxhall, where there is still a Glasshouse Street. Buckingham—says Lady Burghclere—"took out a patent for extracting glass and crystals from flint" as early as 1663 (*George Villiers*, 1903, p. 147).]

Dined with Mrs. Godolphin, and returned home through a prodigious and dangerous mist.

*9th November.* Finished the lease of Spalding, for Mr. Godolphin.

*16th.* My son and I dining at my Lord Chamberlain's, he showed us amongst others that incomparable piece of Raphael's, being a Minister of State dictating to Guicciardini, the earnestness of whose face looking up in expectation of what he was next to write, is so to the life, and so natural, as I esteem it one of the choicest pieces of that admirable artist. There was a Woman's head of Leonardo da Vinci; a Madonna of old Palma, and two of Vandyck's, of which one was his own picture at length, when young, in a leaning posture; the other, an eunuch, singing. Rare pieces indeed!<sup>1</sup>

*4th December.* I saw the great ball danced by all the gallants and ladies at the Duchess of York's.

*10th.* There fell so deep a snow as hindered us from church.

*12th.* To London, in so great a snow, as I remember not to have seen the like.

*17th.* More snow falling, I was not able to get to church.

<sup>1</sup> [Lord Arlington's picture, of which Evelyn here makes mention, is not by Raphael, though long attributed to him, and even engraved as his. It is now given to Sebastian del Piombo; and the persons shown are held to be Ferry Carondelet, Archdeacon of Bitonto, with his secretary. It is at present in the Duke of Grafton's collection. Vandyck's "eunuch, singing," is the portrait of the organist, Hendrik Liberti. These particulars have been kindly supplied by Mr. Laurence Binyon of the Department of Prints and Drawings, British Museum. Passavant, it may be added, says that the portrait of the Archdeacon was presented to Lord Arlington by the Dutch Government.]



## APPENDIX II

### LETTER OF JEREMY TAYLOR TO JOHN EVELYN

Feb. 17, 1657-8.

DEAR SIR,

If dividing and sharing griefs were like the cutting of rivers, I dare say to you, you would find your stream much abated; for I account myself to have a great cause of sorrow not only in the diminution of the numbers of your joys and hopes, but in the loss of that pretty person, your strangely hopeful boy.<sup>1</sup> I cannot tell all my own sorrows without adding to yours; and the causes of my real sadness in your loss are so just and so reasonable, that I can no otherwise comfort you but by telling you, that you have very great cause to mourn: So certain it is, that grief does propagate as fire does. You have enkindled my funeral torch, and by joining mine to yours, I do but increase the flame. *Hoc me malè urit*, is the best signification of my apprehensions of your sad story. But, Sir, I cannot choose but I must hold another and a brighter flame to you—it is already burning in your breast; and if I can but remove the dark side of the lantern, you have enough within you to warm yourself, and to shine to others. Remember, Sir, your two boys<sup>2</sup> are two bright stars, and their innocence is secured, and you shall never hear evil of them again. Their state is safe, and heaven is given to them upon very easy terms; nothing but to be born and die. It will cost you more trouble to get where they are; and amongst other things one of the hardnesses will be, that you must overcome even this just and reasonable grief; and indeed, though the grief hath but too reasonable a cause, yet it is much more reasonable that you master it. For besides that they are no losers, but are the person that complains, do but consider what you

<sup>1</sup> [See *ante*, pp. 127-130.]

<sup>2</sup> [See *ante*, p. 130.]

would have suffered for their interest: you [would] have suffered them to go from you, to be great Princes in a strange country; and if you can be content to suffer your own inconvenience for their interest, you commend your worthiest love, and the question of mourning is at an end. But you have said and done well, when you look upon it as a rod of God; and he that so smites here, will spare hereafter; and if you by patience and submission imprint the discipline upon your own flesh, you kill the cause, and make the effect very tolerable; because it is in some sense chosen, and not therefore in no [any] sense unsufferable. Sir, if you do look to it, time will snatch your honour from you, and reproach you for not effecting that by Christian philosophy which time will do alone. And if you consider that of the bravest men in the world we find the seldomest stories of their children, and the Apostles had none, and thousands of the worthiest persons that sound most in story died childless; you will find that it is a rare act of Providence so to impose upon worthy men a necessity of perpetuating their names by worthy actions and discourses, governments, and reasonings.

If the breach be never repaired, it is because God does not see it fit to be; and if you will be of this mind it will be much the better. But, Sir, if you will pardon my zeal and passion for your comfort, I will readily confess that you have no need of any discourse from me to comfort you. Sir, now you have an opportunity of serving God by passive graces; strive to be an example and a comfort to your lady, and by your wise counsel and comfort stand in the breaches of your own family, and make it appear that you are more to her than ten sons. Sir, by the assistance of Almighty God I purpose to wait on you some time next week,<sup>1</sup> that I may be a witness of your Christian courage and bravery; and that I may see, that God never displeases you, as long as the main stake is preserved, I mean your hopes and confidences of heaven. Sir, I shall pray for all that you can want, that is, some degrees of comfort and a present mind: and shall always do you honour, and fain also would do you service, if it were in the power, as it is in the affections and desires of,

Dear Sir,

Your most affectionate and obliged friend and servant,

JER. TAYLOR.

<sup>1</sup> [See *ante*, p. 130.]

## APPENDIX III

### LETTER OF JOHN EVELYN TO THE HON. ROBERT BOYLE

SAYES-COURT, Sep. 3, 1659.

NOBLE SIR,

Together with these testimonies of my cheerful obedience to your commands, and a faithful promise of transmitting the rest, if yet there remain anything worthy your acceptance amongst my unpolished and scattered collections, I do here make bold to trouble you with a more minute discovery of the design, which I casually mentioned to you, concerning my great inclination to redeem the remainder of my time, considering, *quam parum mihi supersit ad metas*; so as may best improve it to the glory of God Almighty, and the benefit of others. And, since it has proved impossible for me to attain to it hitherto (though in this my private and mean station) by reason of that fond morigeration<sup>1</sup> to the mistaken customs of the age, which not only rob men of their time, but extremely of their virtue and best advantages; I have established with myself, that it is not to be hoped for, without some resolutions of quitting these incumbrances, and instituting such a manner of life, for the future, as may best conduce to a design so much breathed after, and, I think, so advantageous. In order to this, I propound, that since we are not to hope for a mathematical college, much less, a Solomon's house, hardly a friend in this *sad Catalysis*, and *inter hos armorum strepitus*, a period so uncharitable and perverse; why might not some gentlemen, whose geniuses are greatly suitable, and who desire nothing more than to give a good example, preserve science, and cultivate themselves, join together in society, and resolve upon some orders and economy, to be mutually observed, such as shall best become

<sup>1</sup> [Obedience, dutifulness (Bailey).]

the end of their union, if, I cannot say, without a kind of singularity, because the thing is new: yet such, at least, as shall be free from pedantry, and all affectation? The possibility, Sir, of this is so obvious, that I profess, were I not an aggregate person, and so obliged, as well by my own nature as the laws of decency, and their merits, to provide for my dependents, I would cheerfully devote my small fortune towards a design, by which I might hope to assemble some small number together who would resign themselves to live profitably and sweetly together. But since I am unworthy so great a happiness, and that it is not now in my power, I propose that if any one worthy person, and *quis meliore luto*, so qualified as Mr. Boyle, will join in the design (for not with every one, rich and learned; there are very few disposed, and it is the greatest difficulty to find the man) we would not doubt, in a short time, by God's assistance, to be possessed of the most blessed life that virtuous persons could wish or aspire to in this miserable and uncertain pilgrimage, whether considered as to the present revolutions, or what may happen for the future in all human probability. Now, Sir, in what instances, and how far this is practicable, permit me to give you an account of, by the calculations which I have deduced for our little foundation.

I propose the purchasing of thirty or forty acres of land, in some healthy place, not above twenty-five miles from London; of which a good part should be tall wood, and the rest upland pastures or downs, sweetly irrigated. If there were not already an house which might be converted, etc., we would erect upon the most convenient site of this, near the wood, our building, viz. one handsome pavilion, containing a refectory, library, withdrawing-room, and a closet; this the first story; for we suppose the kitchen, larders, cellars, and offices to be contrived in the half story under ground. In the second should be a fair lodging chamber, a pallet-room, gallery, and a closet; all which should be well and very nobly furnished, for any worthy person that might desire to stay any time, and for the reputation of the college. The half story above for servants, wardrobes, and like conveniences. To the entry fore front of this a court, and at the other back front a plot walled in of a competent square, for the common seraglio, disposed into a garden; or it might be only carpet, kept curiously, and to serve for bowls, walking, or other recreations, etc., if the company please. Opposite to the house, towards the wood, should be erected

a pretty chapel; and at equal distances (even with the flanking walls of the square) six apartments or cells, for the members of the Society, and not contiguous to the pavilion, each whereof should contain a small bedchamber, an outward room, a closet, and a private garden, somewhat after the manner of the Carthusians.<sup>1</sup> There should likewise be one laboratory, with a repository for rarities and things of nature; aviary, dovehouse, physic garden, kitchen garden, and a plantation of orchard fruit, etc., all uniform buildings, but of single stories, or a little elevated. At convenient distance towards the olitory garden should be a stable for two or three horses, and a lodging for a servant or two. Lastly, a garden house, and conservatory for tender plants.

The estimate amounts thus. The pavilion £400, chapel £150, apartments, walls, and out-housing £600; the purchase of the fee for thirty acres, at £15 per acre, eighteen years' purchase, £400; the total £1550, £1600 will be the utmost. Three of the cells or apartments, that is, one moiety, with the appurtenances, shall be at the disposal of one of the founders, and the other half at the other's.

If I and my wife take up two apartments (for we are to be decently asunder; however I stipulate, and her inclination will greatly suit with it, that shall be no impediment to the Society, but a considerable advantage to the economic part), a third shall be for some worthy person; and to facilitate the rest, I offer to furnish the whole pavilion completely, to the value of £500 in goods and movables, if need be, for seven years, till there be a public stock, etc.

There shall be maintained at the public charge, only a chaplain, well qualified, an ancient woman to dress the meat, wash, and do all such offices, a man to buy provisions, keep the garden, horses, etc., a boy to assist him, and serve within.

At one meal a day, of two dishes only (unless some little extraordinary upon particular days or occasions, then never exceeding three) of plain and wholesome meat; a small refectation at night: wine, beer, sugar, spice, bread, fish, fowl, candle, soap, oats, hay, fuel, etc., at £4 per week, £200 per

<sup>1</sup> [Walpole describes the arrangements at the Convent of the Charteux in Paris upon which Evelyn's plan was no doubt modelled. The cells were "built like little huts detached from each other." The one they (he and Gray) visited had "four little rooms, furnished in the prettiest manner, and hung with good prints." One of them was a library, another a gallery. Attached to this "cell" was a tiny garden with "a bed of good tulips in bloom, flowers and fruit trees, and all neatly kept" (Walpole to West, from Paris, 1739).]

annum; wages £15; keeping the gardens £20; the chaplain £20 per annum. Laid up in the treasury yearly £145, to be employed for books, instruments, drugs, trials, etc. The total £400 a year, comprehending the keeping of two horses for the chariot or the saddle, and two kine: so that £200 per annum will be the utmost that the founders shall be at, to maintain the whole Society, consisting of nine persons (the servants included) though there should no others join capable to alleviate the expense; but if any of those who desire to be of the Society be so qualified as to support their own particulars, and allow for their own proportion, it will yet much diminish the charge; and of such there cannot want some at all times, as the apartments are empty.

If either of the founders think it expedient to alter his condition, or that anything do *humanitus contingere*, he may resign to another, or sell to his colleague, and dispose of it as he pleases, yet so as it still continue the institution.

#### ORDERS

At six in summer prayers in the chapel. To study till half an hour after eleven. Dinner in the refectory till one. Retire till four. Then called to conversation (if the weather invite) abroad, else in the refectory; this never omitted but in case of sickness. Prayers at seven. To bed at nine. In the winter the same, with some abatements for the hours, because the nights are tedious, and the evening's conversation more agreeable; this in the refectory. All play interdicted, *sans* bowls, chess, etc. Every one to cultivate his own garden. One month in spring a course in the elaboratory on vegetables, etc. In the winter a month on other experiments. Every man to have a key of the elaboratory, pavilion, library, repository, etc. Weekly fast. Communion once every fortnight, or month at least. No stranger easily admitted to visit any of the Society, but upon certain days weekly, and that only after dinner. Any of the Society may have his commons to his apartment, if he will not meet in the refectory, so it be not above twice a week. Every Thursday shall be a music meeting at conversation hours. Every person of the Society shall render some public account of his studies weekly if thought fit, and especially shall be recommended the promotion of experimental knowledge, as the principal end of the institution. There shall be a decent habit and uniform used in the college. One month in the

year may be spent in London, or any of the Universities, or in a perambulation for the public benefit, etc., with what other orders shall be thought convenient, etc.

Thus, Sir, I have in haste (but to your loss not in a laconic style) presumed to communicate to you (and truly, in my life, never to any but yourself) that project which for some time has traversed my thoughts: and therefore far from being the effect either of an impertinent or trifling spirit, but the result of mature and frequent reasonings. And, Sir, is not this the same that many noble personages did at the confusion of the empire by the barbarous Goths, when Saint Jerome, Eustochium, and others, retired from the impertinences of the world to the sweet recesses and societies in the East, till it came to be burdened with the vows and superstitions, which can give no scandal to our design, that provides against all such snares?

Now to assure you, Sir, how pure and unmixed the design is from any other than the public interest propounded by me, and to redeem the time to the noblest purposes, I am thankful to acknowledge that, as to the common forms of living in the world I have little reason to be displeased at my present condition, in which, I bless God, I want nothing conducing either to health or honest diversion, extremely beyond my merit; and therefore would I be somewhat choice and scrupulous in my colleague, because he is to be the most dear person to me in the world. But oh! how I should think it designed from heaven, *et tanquam numen dioperis*, did such a person as Mr. Boyle, who is alone a society of all that were desirable to a consummate felicity, esteem it a design worthy his embracing! Upon such an occasion how would I prostitute all my other concerns! how would I exult! and, as I am, continue upon infinite accumulations and regards,

Sir,

His most humble, and most obedient servant,  
J. EVELYN.

If my health permits me the honour to pay my respects to you before you leave the Town, I will bring you a rude plot of the building, which will better fix the idea, and show what symmetry it holds with this description.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> [Cowley, it may be added, to whom Appendix VI. relates, in his "Proposition for the Advancement of Experimental Philosophy" (*Works*, 1721, ii. 564), sketches a plan of a *Philosophical College* with a revenue of "four thousand Pounds a Year."]

## APPENDIX IV

### EVELYN AND COLONEL MORLEY

IN the Edition of Sir Richard Baker's *Chronicle*, published with additions by Edward Philips (Milton's nephew), there is an account of the transactions between Evelyn and Colonel Morley, with particular reference to the influence strenuously used to induce Morley, after Cromwell's death, to declare for the King. In a subsequent edition, in 1780, this account is considerably altered. But among Evelyn's papers at Wotton has been found the original account drawn up by Sir Thomas Clarges, and sent to Mr. Philips. It is in Sir Thomas's own handwriting, had been evidently sent to Evelyn for his perusal, and is thus indorsed by him :

"Sir Thomas Clarges's (brother-in-law to the Duke of Albemarle) insertion of what concerned Mr. Evelyn and Colonel Morley in continuation of the History written by Mr. Philips, and added to Sir Rich. Baker's Chronicle. Note that my letter to Colonel Morley was not rightly copied; there was likewise too much said concerning me, which is better, and as it ought to be in the second impression, 1664."

Mr. Philips's account is as follows :—

"In the seven hundred and nineteenth page of this History we omitted to insert a very material negotiation for the King's service, attempted upon the interruption given to the Parliament by Colonel Lambert and those that joined with him therein, which was managed by Mr. Evelyn, of Sayes Court, by Deptford, in Kent, an active, vigilant, and very industrious agent on all occasions for his Majesty's Restoration; who, supposing the members of this suppositious Parliament could not but ill resent that affront, thought to make advantage of fixing the impression of it to the ruin of the Army, for the effecting whereof he applied



himself to Colonel Herbert Morley, then newly constituted one of the five Commissioners for the command of the Army, as a person by his birth, education, and interest, unlikely to be cordially inclined to prostitute himself to the ruin of his country and the infamy of his posterity.

“Mr. Evelyn gave him some visits to tempt his affection by degrees to a confidence in him, and then by consequence to engage him in his designs; and to induce him the more powerfully thereunto, he put into his hands an excellent and unanswerable hardy treatise by him written, called *An Apology for the Royal Party*, which he backed with so good arguments and a very dexterous address in the prosecution of them, that the Colonel was wholly convinced, and recommended to him the procurement of the King's pardon for him, his brother-in-law, Mr. Fagg, and one or two more of his relations. This Mr. Evelyn faithfully promised to endeavour, and taking the opportunity of Sir Samuel Tuke's going at that time into France, he by him acquainted the King (being then at Pontoise) with the relation of this affair, wherewith he was so well pleased as to declare if Colonel Morley, and those for whom he interceded, were not of those execrable judges of his blessed Royal father, they should have his pardon, and he receive such other reward as his services should deserve. Upon the sending this advice to the King, the Colonel left London, because of the jealousy which Fleetwood and Lambert had of him; but, before he went, he desired Mr. Evelyn to correspond with him in Sussex, by means of Mr. Fagg, his brother-in-law, who then lay in the Mews.

“Mr. Evelyn had good reason to believe Colonel Morley very capable of serving the King at this time; for he had a much better interest in Sussex than any of his party; whereby he might have facilitated his Majesty's reception in that county, in case his affairs had required his landing there; but, besides his power in Sussex, he had (as he said) an influence on two of the best regiments of the Army, and good credit with many of the Officers of the Fleet.

“But before the return from France of the King's resolution in this matter, there intervened many little changes in the posture of affairs.

“Upon the advance of General Monck in favour of the Parliament, and the general inclination of the Army to him, Colonel Morley expected the restitution of that power, and with it of his own authority, and was leagued with Walton

and Hazlerig in a private treaty with Colonel Whetham, the Governor of Portsmouth, for the delivery of that garrison to them; and Fagg went privately from London to raise a regiment in Sussex to promote these designs; but was suppressed before he got any considerable number of men together.

"Mr. Evelyn, not knowing of these intrigues, in vain endeavoured by all imaginable ways to communicate the King's pleasure to Morley, who was by this time in the garrison of Portsmouth.

"But when the Parliament resumed their power, and he [Morley] was placed in the government of the Tower, he [Evelyn] thought it expedient to renew the former negotiation betwixt them for his Majesty's service, and in order thereunto, he often by visits made application to him, but could never but once procure access; and then he dismissed him with a faint answer, 'That he would shortly wait upon him at his lodging.'

"This put Evelyn into so much passion that he resolved to surmount the difficulty of access by writing freely to him, which he did in this manner :—

"‘TO COLONEL MORLEY, LIEUTENANT OF THE TOWER.<sup>1</sup>

"‘SIR,

"‘For many obligations, but especially for the last testimonies of your confidence in my friendship, begun so long since, and conserved so inviolably through so many changes, and in so universal a decadence of honour, and all that is sacred amongst men, I come with this profound acknowledgment of the favours you have done me; and had a great desire to have made this a personal recognition and to congratulate your return, and the dignities which your merits have acquired, and for which none does more sincerely rejoice; could I promise myself the happiness of finding you in your station at any season wherein the Public, and more weighty concerns did afford you the leisure of receiving a visit from a person so inconsiderable as myself.

"‘But, since I may not hope for that good fortune, and such an opportunity of conveying my respects and the great

When I transacted with him for delivery of the Tower of London, and to declare for the King, a little before General Monk's, and which had he done, he had received the honour that great man deserved and obtained soon after.

<sup>1</sup> The letter following is taken from Evelyn's own copy.

affections which I owe you, I did presume to transmit this express; and by it, to present you with the worthiest indications of my zeal to continue in the possession of your good graces, by assuring you of my great desires to serve you in whatsoever may best conduce to your honour, and to a stability of it, beyond all that any future contingencies of things can promise: because I am confident that you have a nobler prospect upon the success of your designs than to prostitute your virtues and your conduct to serve the passions, or avarice of any particular persons whatsoever; being (as you are) free and incontaminate, well-born, and abhorring to dishonour or enrich yourself with the spoils which by others have been ravished from our miserable, yet dearest country; and which renders them so zealous to pursue the ruin of it, by labouring to involve men of the best natures and reputation into their own inextricable labyrinths, and to gratify that which will pay them with so much infamy in the event of things, and with so inevitable a perdition of their precious souls, when all these uncertainties (how specious soever at present) shall vanish and come to nothing.

““There is now, Sir, an opportunity put into your hands, by improving whereof you may securely act for the good of your country, and the redemption of it from the insupportable tyrannies, injustice, and impieties under which it has now groaned for so many years, through the treachery of many wicked, and the mistakes of some few good men. For by this, Sir, you shall best do honour to God, and merit of your country; by this you shall secure yourself, and make your name great to succeeding ages: by this you shall crown yourself with real and lasting dignities. In sum, by this, you shall oblige even those whom you may mistake to be your greatest enemies, to embrace and cherish you as a person becoming the honour of a brave and worthy patriot, and to be rewarded with the noblest expressions of it: when by the best interpretations of your charity and obedience to the dictates of a Christian, you shall thus heap coals of fire upon their head; and which will at once give both light and warmth to this afflicted Nation, Church, and People, not to be extinguished by any more of those impostors whom God has so signally blown off the stage, to place such in their stead, as have opportunities given them of restoring us to our ancient known laws, native and most happy liberties.—It is this, Sir, which I am obliged to wish to encourage you in, and to

pronounce as the worthiest testimony of my congratulations for your return ; and which, you may assure yourself, has the suffrages of the solidest and best ingredient of this whole nation.

“ And having said thus much, I am sure you will not look upon this letter as a servile address ; but, if you still retain that favour and goodness for the person who presents it, that I have reason to promise myself, from the integrity which I have hitherto observed in all your professions ; I conjure you to believe, that you have made a perfect acquisition of my service ; and, that (however events succeed) I am still the same person, greedy of an opportunity to recommend the sincerity of my affection, by doing you whatsoever service lies in my power ; and I hope you shall not find me without some capacities of expressing it in effects, as well as in the words of

“ ‘Honourable Sir, etc.

“ ‘COVENT GARDEN,  
“ ‘12th Jan. 1659-60.’ ”

In a note he adds : “ Morley was at this time Lieutenant of the Tower of London, was absolute master of the City, there being very few of the rebel army anywhere near it, save at Somerset-House a trifling garrison which was marching out to reinforce Lambert, who was marching upon the news of Monck’s coming out of Scotland. He was Lieutenant of all the confederate counties of Sussex, Surrey, Hampshire, etc. ; his brother-in-law Governor of Portsmouth and Hampshire ; his own brother William Morley, Governor of Arundel Castle ; in sum, he had all the advantages he could have desired to have raised the well-affected of the City and Country universally breathing after a deliverer (uncertain as to what Monck intended), and so had absolutely prevented any [other] person or power whatever (in all appearance) from having the honour of bringing in the King, before those who were in motion could have snatched it out of his hand. Of all this I made him so sensible, when I was with him at the Tower, that nothing but his fatal diffidence of Monck’s having no design to bring in his Majesty because he had [not] discovered it whilst matters were yet in the dark (but the design certainly resolved on) kept him wavering and so irresolute (though he saw the game sufficiently in his hands) as to sit still and put it off, till Lambert and his forces being scattered and taken, Monck marched into the City triumphant with his wearied army, possessed the gates, and with no great

cunning and little difficulty, finding how the people and magistrates were disposed (whatever his general intentions were, or at first seemed to be),—boldly and fortunately brought to pass that noble Revolution, following it to his eternal honour by restoring a banished Prince and the people's freedom. This poor Morley saw, and implored my interest by what means he might secure himself and obtain his pardon. This is, in short, a true account of that remarkable affair."

Philips proceeds thus from Sir Thomas Clarges's paper :

"We shall not here determine what it was that induced Colonel Morley (at the time of his being Lieutenant of the Tower) to decline commerce with Mr. Evelyn for the King's service; whether it was that he doubted of the concurrence of his officers and soldiers, who had been long trained up in an aversion to monarchy, or whether by the entire subjection of the Army to Monck, and their unity thereupon, he thought that work now too difficult, which was more feasible in the time of their division. But it is most certain that he took such impressions from Mr. Evelyn's discourses and this letter, that ever after he appeared very moderate in his counsels, and was one of the forwardest to embrace all opportunities for the good of his country; as was evident by his vigorous and hazardous opposition in Parliament to that impious oath of abjuration to the King's family and line (hereafter mentioned), before it was safe for General Monck to discover how he was inclined; and by his willing conjunction and confederacy after with the General for the admission of the secluded members, in proclamation for a free Parliament for the King's restoration."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In 1815 Baron Masères republished some Tracts relating to the Civil War in England in the time of King Charles I., among which is "The Mystery and Method of his Majesty's happy Restoration, by the Rev. Dr. John Price, one of the late Duke of Albemarle's chaplains, who was privy to all the secret passages and particularities of that Glorious Revolution." Printed in 1680. In this tract it is stated that Monck's officers, being dissatisfied with the conduct of the Rump Parliament, pressed him to come to some decision, whereupon, on 11 Feb., 1660, they sent the letter to the Parliament desiring them first to fill up the vacancies, and then to determine their own sitting and call a new Parliament. Dr. Price then says: "The General yielded at length to their fears and counsels, and the rather for that he was assured of the Tower of London, the Lieutenant of it (Col. Morley) having before offered it to him. This the noble Colonel had done in the City, pitying the consternation of the citizens, when he saw what work was doing [Monck's pulling down the City-gates a few days before by order of the

Rump Parliament], and what influence it would have on the country." He adds, "that though the Rump did not dare to take away the General's commission as one of their Commissioners for governing the Army, they struck out his name from the quorum of them, which virtually did take away his authority, and he and Morley were left to stem the tide against Hazlerigg, Alured, and Walton."

These are the only mentions which he makes of Morley, by which it seems that the first communication between him and Monck was when the latter had broken down the City-gates on the 9th February.

Had there been any previous concert between Monck and Morley, the latter would not have required Evelyn's assistance to obtain his pardon. This he not only did want, but obtained through Evelyn. See *ante*, p. 145.

## APPENDIX V

### THE ENCOUNTER BETWEEN THE FRENCH AND SPANISH AMBASSADORS

"THERE had been many troubles and disputes between the Ambassadors of France and Spain for precedence in the Courts of foreign Princes, and amongst these there was none more remarkable than that on Tower-hill, on the landing of an Ambassador for Sweden, 30th September, 1660, which was so premeditated a business on both sides, that the King, foreseeing it would come to a quarrel, and being willing to carry himself with indifference towards both, which could not be otherwise done than by leaving them at liberty to take what methods they thought proper for supporting their respective pretences; but to show at the same time his concern for the public tranquillity, orders were given for a strict guard to be kept upon the place, and all his Majesty's subjects were enjoined not to intermeddle, or take part with either side. The King was further pleased to command that Mr. Evelyn should, after diligent inquiry made, draw up and present to him a distinct narrative of the whole affair."<sup>1</sup>

This was done accordingly, and printed: but not being now to be met with, except in the *Biographia Britannica* (Ed. 1750, vol. iii.; Ed. 1793, vol. v.), it may be worth while to print it from Evelyn's own copy.

#### A FAITHFUL AND IMPARTIAL NARRATIVE OF WHAT PASSED AT THE LANDING OF THE SWEDISH AMBASSADOR

Upon Monday last, being the 30th of September, 1661, about ten in the morning, the Spanish Ambassador's coach, in which were his chaplain with some of his gentlemen, attended by about forty more of his own servants in liveries,

<sup>1</sup> Continuation of Heath's *Chronicle*.

was sent down to the Tower wharf, and there placed itself near about the point where the ranks of ordnance determine, towards the gate leading into the bulwark. Next after him came the Dutch, and (twelve o'clock past) the Swedish coach of honour, disposing of themselves according to their places. About two hours after this (in company with his Majesty's coach royal) appeared that of the French Ambassador, wherein were Le Marquis d'Estrades, son to the French Ambassador,<sup>1</sup> with several more of his gentlemen, and as near as might be computed, near 150 in train, whereof above forty were horsemen well appointed with pistols, and some of them with carabines, musquetoons, or fuzees; in this posture and equipage stood they expecting upon the wharf, and, as near as might be, approaching to his Majesty's coach, which was opposite to the stairs. About three in the afternoon, the Swedish Ambassador being landed and received into his Majesty's coach, which moved leisurely before the rest, and was followed by that of the Swede's, the French Ambassador's coach endeavoured to go the next, driving as close as possibly they could, and advancing their party with their swords drawn, to force the Spaniards from the guard of their own coach, which was also putting in for precedence next the King's. His Majesty's coach now passed the Spaniards, who held as yet their rapiers undrawn in their hands, stepping nimbly on either side of the hindmost wheels of their Minister's coach, drew their weapons and shouted, which caused the French coach-horses to make a pause; but, when they observed the advantage which by this the Spanish Ambassador's coach had gained, being now in file after the Swede's, they came up very near to the Spaniards, and at once pouring in their shot upon them, together with their foot, then got before their coach, fell to it with their swords, both which the Spaniards received without removing one jot from their stations.

During this *démêlé* (in which the French received some repulse, and were put to a second stand) a bold and dexterous fellow, and, as most affirm, with a particular instrument as well as address, stooping under the bellies of the French

<sup>1</sup> ["As it was not a thing I could do, to go myself," wrote the French Ambassador to Louis XIVth's Foreign Secretary, Lionne, "I had sent my son; and of the fifty men who were there with him five were killed and thirty-three wounded" (Jusserand's *A French Ambassador at the Court of Charles the Second*, 1892, p. 28). The Marquis d'Estrades was among those wounded.]



Ambassador's coach-horses, cut the ham-strings of two of them and wounded a third, which immediately falling, the coach for the present was disabled from advancing farther, the coachman forced out of his box, and the postillion mortally wounded, who, falling into the arms of an English gentleman that stepped in to his succour, was by a Spaniard pierced through his thigh. This disorder (wherein several were wounded and some slain) caused those in the French coach to alight, and so enraged their party, that it occasioned a second brisk assault both of horse and foot, which being received with extraordinary gallantry, many of their horses retreated, and wheeled off towards St. Katharine's.

It was in this skirmish that some brickbats were thrown from the edge of the wharf, which by a mistake are said to have been provided by the Spanish Ambassador's order the day before.

In this interim, then (which was near half an hour), the Spanish coach went forward after his Majesty's with about twenty of his retinue following, who still kept their countenance towards the French as long as they abode on the wharf, and that narrow part of the bulwark (where the contest was very fierce) without disorder ; so as the first which appeared on Tower-hill, where now they were entering, was his Majesty's coach followed by the Swede's Ambassador's, and next by that of Spain, with about twenty-four or thirty of his liveries still disputing it with a less number of French, who came after them in the rear.

And here, besides what were slain with bullets on the wharf and near the bulwark, whereof one was a *valet de chambre* of the Spanish Ambassador's, and six more, amongst which were a poor English plasterer, and near forty wounded, fell one of the French, who was killed just before his Highness's Lifeguard. No one person of the numerous spectators intermeddling, or so much as making the least noise or tumult, people or soldiers, whereof there were three companies of foot, which stood on the hill opposite to the Guards of Horse, 'twixt whom the antagonists lightly skirmished, some fresh parties of French coming out of several places and protected by the English, amongst whom they found shelter till the Spanish Ambassador's coach having gained and passed the chain which leads in Crutched Friars, they desisted and gave them over.

Near half an hour after this, came the French coach (left all this while in disorder on the wharf), with two horses and

a coachman, who had a carabine by his side, and, as the officers think, only a footman in the coach, and a loose horse running by. Next to him, went the Holland Ambassador's coach, then the Swede's second coach. These being all advanced upon the hill, the Duke of Albemarle's coach, with the rest of the English, were stopped by interposition of his Royal Highness's Lifeguard, which had express order to march immediately after the last Ambassador's coach; and so they went on, without any farther interruption.

This is the most accurate relation of what passed, as to matter of fact, from honourable, most ingenuous, and disinterested eye-witnesses; as by his Majesty's command it was taken, and is here set down.

But there is yet something behind which was necessary to be inserted into this Narrative, in reference to the preamble; and, as it tends to the utter dissolving of those oblique suspicions, which have any aspect on his Majesty's subjects, whether spectators, or others; and therefore it is to be taken notice, that, at the arrival of the Venetian Ambassador, some months since, the Ambassadors of France and Spain, intending to send both their coaches to introduce him, the Ambassador of Spain having before agreed with the Count de Soissons that they should assist at no public ceremonies, but upon all such casual encounters, pass on their way as they fortune to meet; it had been wished that this expedient might still have taken place. But Monsieur d'Estrades having, it seems, received positive commands from his master,<sup>1</sup> that notwithstanding any such accord, he should nothing abate of his pretence, or the usual respect showed upon all such occasions, he insisted on putting this injunction of the king his master in execution, at arrival of the Swedish Ambassador. His Majesty, notwithstanding all the just pretences which he might have taken, reflecting on the disorders that might possibly arise in this city, in which for several nights he had been forced to place extraordinary guards; and, because he would not seem to take upon him the decision of this punctilio, in prejudice of either Ambassador, as his charitable interposition might be interpreted; his Majesty declaring himself withal no umpire in

<sup>1</sup> ["I deem, therefore, that when once your coach has taken the place due to it immediately after the Swedish Ambassador's, your men must not leave it before it has reached the house of the said Ambassador, for fear that at the crossing of some street these Scotch and Irish rush in with might and main and stop you and let Watteville go" (Instructions of Louis to d'Estrades quoted in *An Ambassador*, etc., ut supra, p. 25).]

this displeasing and invidious controversy, permitted that, both their coaches going, they might put their servants and dependents into such a posture as they should think fittest, and most becoming their respective pretences: but in the meantime commanded (upon pain of his highest displeasure), that none of his Majesty's subjects, of what degree soever, should presume to interpose in their differences. But in truth, the care of his officers, and especially that of Sir Charles Berkeley, captain of his Royal Highness's Lifeguard (which attended this service), was so eminent and particular, that they permitted not a man of the spectators so much as with a switch in his hand, whom they did not chastise severely.

As to that which some have refined upon, concerning the shower of bricks which fell in this contest (whether industriously placed there or no, for some others of the Spanish party assigned to that post), 'tis affirmed by the concurrent suffrage of all the spectators, that none of them were cast by any of his Majesty's subjects, till, being incensed by the wounds which they received from the shot which came in amongst them (and whereof some of them, 'tis said, are since dead), and not divining to what farther excess this new and unexpected compliment might rise, a few of the rabble, and such as stood on that side of the wharf, were forced to defend themselves with what they found at hand; and to which, 'tis reported, some of them were animated by a fresh remembrance of the treatment they received at Chelsea, and not long since in Covent-Garden, which might very well qualify this article from having anything of design that may reflect on their superiors; nor were it reasonable that they should stand charged for the rudeness of such sort of people, as in all countries upon like occasions and in such a confusion is inevitable. Those who observed the armed multitudes of French which rushed in near the chain on Tower-hill, issuing out of several houses there, and coming in such a tumultuous and indecent manner amongst the peaceable spectators, would have seen that, but for the temper of the officers, and presence of the Guards, into how great an inconveniency they had engaged themselves. Nor have they at all to accuse any for the ill success which attended, if the French would a little reflect upon the several advantages which their antagonists had consulted, to equal that by stratagem which they themselves had gained by numbers, and might still have preserved, with the least of circumspection.

It was evidently the conduct of the Spaniards, not their arms, which was decisive here; nor had his Majesty, or his people, the least part in it, but what the French have infinite obligations to; since, without this extraordinary indulgence and care to protect them, they had, in all probability, drawn a worse inconveniency upon them, by appearing with so little respect to the forms which are used upon all such occasions.

There need, then, no other arguments to silence the mistakes which fly about, that his Majesty's subjects should have had so much as the least temptation to mingle in this contest, not only because they knew better what is their duty, for reverence to his Majesty's commands (which were now most express), and whose Guards were ready to interpose where any such inclination had in the least appeared, so as to do right to the good people spectators (whose curiosity on all such occasions compose no small part of these solemnities), that report which would signify their misbehaviour is an egregious mistake, and worthy to be reprov'd. Nor becomes it the French (of all the nations under Heaven) to suspect his Majesty of partiality in this affair, whose extraordinary civility to them, ever since his happy restoration, has appeared so signal, and is yet the greatest ingredient to this declaration, because by the disquisition of these impartial truths, he endeavours still to preserve it most inviolable.

*Written by Evelyn underneath.*

This, Sir, is what I was able to collect of that contest, by his Majesty's special command, from the Right Honourable Sir W. Compton, Master of the Ordnance of the Tower, and of his major present, of Sir Charles Berkeley, and several others, all there present, and from divers of the inhabitants and other spectators, whom I examined from house to house, from the spot where the dispute began, to Crutched Friars, where it ended. The rest of the reflections were special hints from his Majesty's own mouth, the first time I read it to him, which was the second day after the contest.

*Indorsed by Evelyn.*—The contest 'twixt the French and Spanish Ambassadors on Tower-hill for Precedency.—Note, That copies of this were despatched to the Lord Ambassador in France, who was my Lord of St. Albans. Also, another

was written to be laid up and kept in the Paper Office, at Whitehall.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> [M. Jusserand (p. 28) quotes from another account with the following title :—“ *A true relation of the manner of the dangerous dispute and bloody conflict betwixt the Spaniards and the French at Tower Wharfe and Tower Hill on Monday, September the 30th, 1661 (O.S.) . . . with the number killed and wounded on both sides . . . published for general satisfaction.* Cf. also Pepys' *Diary* for Monday, 30th September. The final victory, however, remained with Louis XIV. Spain gave way to his remonstrances; Watteville was recalled; the French precedence established, and a French medal (the die of which still exists) struck to commemorate the result.]

## APPENDIX VI

### LETTERS OF JOHN EVELYN AND ABRAHAM COWLEY

*From John Evelyn to Abraham Cowley.*

SAYES-COURT, 12th March, 1666-7.

SIR,

You had reason to be astonished at the presumption, not to name it affront, that I who have so highly celebrated recess, and envied it in others, should become an advocate for the enemy, which of all others it abhors and flies from. I conjure you to believe that I am still of the same mind, and that there is no person alive who does more honour and breathe after the life and repose you so happily cultivate and adorn by your example: but, as those who praised dirt, a flea, and the gout, so have I *Public Employment* in that trifling Essay,<sup>1</sup> and that in so weak a style compared to my antagonist's, as by that alone it will appear I neither was nor could be serious; and I hope you believe I speak my very soul to you. But I have more to say, which will require your kindness. Suppose our good friend<sup>2</sup> were publishing some eulogies on the Royal Society, and, by deducing the original progress and advantages of their design, would bespeak it some veneration in the world? Has Mr. Cowley no inspirations for it? Would it not hang the most heroic wreath about his temples? Or can he desire a nobler or a fuller argument either for the softest airs or the loudest echoes, for the smoothest or briskest notes of his Pindaric lyre?

There be those who ask, What have the Royal Society

<sup>1</sup> [See *ante*, p. 268.]

<sup>2</sup> [Sprat. See *ante*, p. 192 n.]

done? Where their College? I need not instruct you how to answer or confound these persons, who are able to make even these inform blocks and stones dance into order, and charm them into better sense. Or if their insolence press, you are capable to show how they have laid solid foundations to perfect all noble arts, and reform all imperfect sciences. It requires an history to recite only the arts, the inventions, and phenomena already absolved, improved, or opened. In a word, our registers have outdone Pliny, Porta, and Alexis, and all the experimentists, nay, the great Verulam himself, and have made a nobler and more faithful collection of real secrets, useful and instructive, than has hitherto been shown.—Sir, we have a library, a repository, and an assembly of as worthy and great persons as the world has any; and yet we are sometimes the subject of satire<sup>1</sup> and the songs of the drunkards; have a king to our founder, and yet want a Mæcenæ; and above all, a spirit like yours, to raise us up benefactors, and to compel them to think the design of the Royal Society as worthy of their regards, and as capable to embalm their names, as the most heroic enterprise, or anything antiquity has celebrated; and I am even amazed at the wretchedness of this age that acknowledges it no more. But the devil, who was ever an enemy to truth, and to such as discover his prestigious effects, will never suffer the promotion of a design so destructive to his dominion (which is to fill the world with imposture and keep it in ignorance), without the utmost of his malice and contradiction. But you have numbers and charms that can bind even these spirits of darkness, and render their instruments obsequious; and we know you have a divine hymn for us; the lustre of the Royal Society calls for an ode from the best of poets upon the noblest argument. To conclude: here you have a field to celebrate the great and the good, who either do, or should, favour the most august and worthy design that ever was set on foot in the world: and those who are our real patrons and friends you can eternise, those who are not you can conciliate and inspire to do gallant things.—But I will add no more, when I have told you with great truth that I am,

Sir, etc.

<sup>1</sup> [Cf. *ante*, p. 298. Lord-Keeper North declined to join the Society because it “was made very free with by the ridiculers of the town” (*Lives of the Norths*, 1826, ii. 179).]

*From Abraham Cowley to John Evelyn.*

SIR,

CHERTSEY, 13th May, 1667.

I am ashamed of the rudeness I have committed in deferring so long my humble thanks for your obliging letter, which I received from you at the beginning of the last month. My laziness in finishing the copy of verses upon the Royal Society, for which I was engaged before by Mr. Sprat's desire, and encouraged since by you,<sup>1</sup> was the cause of this delay, having designed to send it to you enclosed in my letter: but I am told now that the History is almost quite printed, and will be published so soon, that it were impertinent labour to write out that which you will so suddenly see in a better manner, and in the company of better things. I could not comprehend in it many of those excellent hints which you were pleased to give me, nor descend to the praises of particular persons, because those things afford too much matter for one copy of verses, and enough for a poem, or the History itself; some part of which I have seen, and think you will be very well satisfied with it. I took the boldness to show him your letter, and he says he has not omitted any of those heads, though he wants your eloquence in expression. Since I had the honour to receive from you the reply to a book written in praise of a solitary life,<sup>2</sup> I have sent all about the town in vain to get the author, having very much affection for the subject, which is one of the noblest controversies both modern and ancient; and you have dealt so civilly with your adversary, as makes him deserve to be looked after. But I could not meet with him, the books being all, it seems, either burnt or bought up. If you please to do me the favour to lend it to me, and send it to my brother's house (that was) in the King's Yard, it shall be returned to you within a few days with a humble thanks of your most faithful obedient servant,

A. COWLEY.

<sup>1</sup> [Ode "To the Royal Society," *Works*, 1721, ii. 557-62 (see *ante*, p. 192).]

<sup>2</sup> [Sir George Mackenzie's *Moral Essay upon Solitude, preferring it to Public Employment*, 1665 (see *ante*, p. 268).]

END OF VOL. II

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